



T H E

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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 17.

In the Debate upon the Pension Bill, the next that spoke was C. Helvius, whose Speech was to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

THE Argument has been already so fully canvassed, and the Bill now under your Lordships Consideration so minutely and so carefully dissected and exposed, that I should have given you no Trouble upon the present Occasion, if I had not observed, that the noble Lords who have spoke in favour of the Bill, have mistaken the Argument now properly under our Consideration, and have, by that Means, drawn the Debate to an immoderate, and a very unnecessary Length. Corruption, my Lords, is such a vile, such a dangerous Practice, that no Man will pretend to justify it, or to say that corrupt Pensioners ought not to be excluded from having Seats in either House of Parliament. I am sure no such Thing has been at-

tempted by any Lord who has spoke against this Bill; and therefore, I cannot think there was the least Occasion for any of that Eloquence and Wit, that have been made use of for explaining the Danger and the Deformity of Corruption. The Nature and Consequences of Corruption have nothing to do in this Debate; and, if all that has been said upon that Subject, by Lords who have spoke in favour of the Bill, had been left out, the real Subject now before us would have been long since exhausted. The Question now before us is not, whether Corruption be a good or a bad Thing, but whether the Methods proposed by this Bill be proper for preventing it; and upon this Question, I must agree with those who think, that they are improper, that they are dangerous, and that they will certainly be found altogether ineffectual.

We have been told, my Lords, that this Bill is intended only as an Enforcement of the Laws now in being for excluding Pensioners from
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having Seats in the other House; but, if we examine it strictly, I believe, it will be found to reach a great deal farther. I know that by the Laws now in being, every one who has a Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, either in his own Name, or in the Name of another Person in Whole or in Part for his Benefit, is excluded from having a Seat in the other House; but, I do not know that there is, as yet, any Law in being, for excluding those who have ever received any deserved Reward or Favour from the Crown, on account of some eminent Service they have rendered to the Publick; and, tho' there are in this Bill no express Words for excluding such Men, yet, in Effect, it gives the other House a Power to exclude them as often as they have a Mind, which is certainly a very great Innovation in our Constitution, and it is a Power that ought not, I think, to be lodged in the other House singly. If it should be thought necessary to exclude all such Men from having Seats in the other House, they ought to be excluded by an express Law for that Purpose, as Pensioners now are; or, if it should be thought necessary to subject every Member of the other House that receives any Gratuity or Reward from the Crown, to a Trial, in order to determine whether that Gratuity or Reward ought to be called Corruption, that Trial ought to be by the Laws of his Country, and not by the arbitrary Vote of the other House of Parliament, which will be the certain Consequence of passing this Bill into a Law; for when a Gentleman declares, he has received such a Gratuity or Reward from the Crown, we are not to suppose, the other House will let it rest there, they will certainly take upon them to determine, whether it was given for any publick Service, or as a Bribe for his voting in their

House; and, in this Case, it is to be feared, they will try the Person much oftner than the Cause.

For this Reason, my Lords, supposing it were necessary to exclude from the other House, or subject to a Trial, every Man that, during his Continuance in that House, shall receive any Gratuity or Reward from the Crown, I think the Method proposed by this Bill, a very improper Method for doing it; but this is far from being the only Impropriety that may be objected against the Bill. The Words Gratuity or Reward are so general, and may be applied to such Trifles, that, in my Opinion, it would be ridiculous to oblige Gentlemen to make a solemn Declaration of every Gratuity or Reward they receive from the Crown. A Horse or a Watch, nay, the least Trifle that can be given by the Crown, may be called a Gratuity; and surely it would be ridiculous to oblige a Gentleman to make a solemn Declaration, before one of the Branches of our Legislature, of his having received such a Trifle from the Crown: Yet, if you pass the Bill with these general Words in it, the Receipt of every such Trifle must be solemnly declared; and what is still worse, even that Trifle may, by a factious House of Commons, be interpreted as a Bribe, and the Receiver expelled as an infamous and corrupt Member.

From these few Remarks, my Lords, the Impropriety of the Methods proposed by this Bill for preventing Corruption must, I think, manifestly appear; and I shall next endeavour to shew, that they may be of the most dangerous Consequence, not only to our Constitution, but to every Gentleman that shall hereafter be a Member of the other House. When a Gentleman has by publick Services merited, and the Crown has, by a well judged Gratitude,

titude, bestowed a just Reward, I hope, even the Terrors of Corruption will not prevail with us to say, that a Gentleman, for receiving such a Reward, ought to be excluded the House of Commons; and yet, if this Bill should pass into a Law, no Gentleman, while he is a Member of the other House, could receive a Reward from the Crown, let his Merit be what it will, without running the Risk of being expelled that House, and loaded with the Infamy of his having betrayed his Country for the Sake of a corrupt Reward from the Crown; for whatever Gratuity or Acknowledgment he receives from the Crown, he must give an Account of it to the House, and then he is to stand the Event of a Vote, whether that Gratuity shall be deemed a Reward from the Crown, for the Services he has rendered the Publick, or a Bribe from the Minister for his having approved of his Measures in that House. In this Case, if the Majority of the House, perhaps not half full, should happen to be such as disapproved of the Measures pursued by the Administration, we may easily judge of the Event. The Gentleman, whom I may, in this Case, properly call the Criminal, would be condemned, and expelled the House, without having an Opportunity to prove the publick Services for which the Reward was given, or to shew the Benefits that had, or might accrue to his Country from those Services. And thus, perhaps, one of the most faithful Servants of the Crown, and one of the most honourable and useful Members of the Commonwealth, might, by Accident, be loaded with the Reproach of being an infamous Betrayer of his Country, for no other Reason but because the Crown had been grateful enough to acknowledge his Merit, and he so imprudent as to accept of that Ac-

knowledgment, whilst he was a Member of the House of Commons.

Innocence, I shall grant, my Lords, is a great Encouragement, and may give Assurance to a Person accused; but even before the most just, the most impartial, and the most steady Judicature, no Man would chuse to stand a Trial, let his Innocence be never so manifest, let the Proofs he has to depend on be never so clear and convincing; and therefore, if this Bill should pass, I must suppose that no Member of the other House, while he continued so, would be so imprudent as to receive any Reward, or indeed any Favour from the Crown; because, if he did, his own Declaration would be an Accusation against him, upon which he would be obliged to stand his Trial, before a Judicature which, considering the Number of Judges, can never be steady in its Judgments, and in a Case which cannot be thoroughly cleared up by Proofs of any Kind, but must always, in a great Measure, depend upon the Opinion his Judges have of his Innocence and Merit. In such a Case, and before such a Judicature, where no Man can be certain either of the Number or of the Persons of those that are to be his Judges, I am sure no wise Man would run the Risk of exposing himself to a Trial, by accepting of any Reward or Gratuity from the Crown, while he continued a Member of the other House; and, if the Expectation of an immediate Reward be allowed to be a great Incitement to worthy Actions, as, I believe, it will, it must be allowed, that the Passing of this Bill into a Law, would very much discourage all those who may hereafter be Members of the other House, from endeavouring to serve the Publick in any other Capacity, which would very much derogate

from the present Character of that Branch of our Legislature, and might at last render it contemptible, or so factious, that it would be impossible to govern the Society according to the Forms prescribed by our Constitution.

This Bill therefore, my Lords, if it should be passed into a Law, would not only be inconvenient and dangerous to those who may hereafter happen to be Members of the other House, but it would be of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution; for, if the Members of the other House were of no Service to their Country, in any Capacity but that of their being Members of one of the Branches of our Legislature, and if they did nothing, as such, but agree to what was proposed by the Ministers of the Crown, which would be the Case under a just and wise Administration, the House itself would become contemptible among the People, and this would make it easy for some future ambitious Prince to overturn our Constitution, by laying that House entirely aside. On the other hand, if a Majority of the Members, in order to recommend themselves to the Notice of their Country, should become factious, and oppose even the justest and wisest Measures that could be proposed by the Administration, unless the Complexion of the House could be changed by a new Election, which, considering the Popularity of an Opposition to Court Measures, would always be extremely precarious, the Constitution would be brought into an Impossibility of existing; for the Crown would be under a Necessity of yielding to the factious Majority in the House of Commons, or of attempting to govern without a Parliament. If in this Attempt the Crown should succeed, our Constitution would be overturned, and an absolute Go-

vernment established; and late Experience has shewn us, what we are to expect from the Crown's yielding to a turbulent Faction in the other House; for such a Faction would never be satisfied with any reasonable

Concession: From one Concession they would aspire to another, till at last they had left the Crown nothing to yield; and thus a Commonwealth would again be established, which of course would soon deviate into a sole Tyranny, under some one or other of the factious Leaders.

From what I have said, my Lords, I think, it is evident, that the Methods proposed by this Bill for preventing Corruption, are both improper and dangerous; yet, so great an Enemy am I to Corruption, so fond am I of every Method that may in the least contribute to prevent it, that I should agree to the Bill now under our Consideration, if I thought it would have the least Effect. But I am fully convinced, that it will be found altogether ineffectual: I am really surprized, how any Lord can imagine, it will have the least Effect. If we suppose a Man so abandoned to all Virtue and Honour, as to betray his Country for the Sake of a secret Bribe or Pension, upon such a Man can we suppose, that an Oath will have any Effect? Such a Man, my Lords, will receive his Bribe or his Pension, and will, if you desire it, the very next Moment declare upon Oath, he never received any Gratuity or Reward from the Crown. The Infamy of Perjury itself is not near so great, as the Infamy of a Man's betraying that Trust which his Country has reposed in him; and can we suppose, that a Man who despises the latter, will shew the least Regard to the former? In this Case, the Penalties of Perjury will signify nothing; for the Penalties already inflicted by Law upon Pensioners

Pensioners that continue to sit and vote in the other House, are so great, that, I am sure, no Man would run the Risk of incurring them, if he thought there were any Possibility of proving the Crime against him; and where a Man depends solely upon the Impossibility of the Proof, no Penalty can have any Effect; for without a Proof no Penalty can ever be recovered; and therefore, unless we can fall upon a Way of making it easy to find a Proof, I am afraid it will be impossible to prevent committing of the Crime, any other Way than by the Electors always chusing Gentlemen of Virtue and Honour to represent them in Parliament; and whilst they do so, we have no Occasion for any Laws against Corruption.

With Regard therefore, my Lords, to the clandestine, the corrupt, and the scandalous Rewards or Gratuities, which may be given by a future Minister to some of the Members of the other House, on account of their voting there according to his Directions, this Bill can have no Effect. It cannot in the least contribute towards preventing such Practices, but, on the contrary, it will, in my Opinion, encourage them; because, among the People, it will render the Guilty less liable to be suspected, and the less liable a Man is of being suspected, the more easily he may be tempted to be guilty. The very Oath by this Bill prescribed, he will look upon as a full Vindication in the Eyes of the World; and thus, by his Perjury, he will think he has wip'd off the Infamy at least, if not the Guilt of his Treachery.

My Lords, it is, in my Opinion, one of the worst Arguments that can be made use of in favour of this Bill, to tell us, that we ought to agree to this Remedy till a more effectual can be found out. If we

are in any Danger from Corruption, it would be a most imprudent Step to apply a Remedy which we know to be ineffectual; because, the applying of such a Remedy might lull the Nation asleep, and prevent our thinking how to contrive a Remedy that would really be effectual. A Man labouring under a dangerous Distemper, is apt to hope for great Benefit from every Remedy he takes; and, by putting too much Trust in Lenitives, too often delays thinking of, or applying an effectual Remedy, till his Case becomes incurable. This may be our Fate: By trusting to the Remedy proposed by this Bill, we may be induced to delay contriving or applying any other, till our Case be grown desperate; and therefore, I must be against the Bill for the very same Reason that other Lords seem to be for it—Because I am an utter Enemy to Corruption. I think it one of the most dangerous Distempers a free State can be infected with, and shall always be against applying Lenitives of any Kind. If there be, at present, no such Infection in this State, we have no Occasion for any Sort of Prescription: If we are infected, let us seach the Infection to the Root, and at once apply some effectual Remedy; for, I hope, there is no political Infection, for which a Specifick may not be found, by a skilful and willing Physician.

The last that spoke in this Debate was M. Aburius, who standing up again, spoke in Substance thus, viz.

My Lords,

I BEG Pardon for troubling your Lordships a second Time upon this Occasion, but I rise up to speak to Order. My Lords, it is against Order to take Notice, in this House, of any Thing that has been, or may be done in the other. We are to do what we think right, without giving

giving ourselves any Trouble about what has been, or may be done in the other House; and yet, I find, the chief Objection made use of against this Bill is, that the other House may make a wrong Use of it. Shall we, my Lords, refuse to do right, because another Assembly may do wrong? Shall we refuse to give a Man a Sword for defending himself, when we know he is in Danger of being attack'd, because he may turn the Point, and stab himself with it? This, my Lords, is a very strange Sort of Argument. But now I am up, I shall beg Leave to shew, that there is nothing new intended by this Bill, nor any Power given to the other House, but what they have already.

Before I do this, my Lords, I must observe, that upon a Question for going into a Committee to consider of a Bill for preventing Corruption, I was surprized to hear the noble Lord that spoke last, find fault with those who had endeavoured to set in a true and clear Light the monstrous Deformity, and the fatal Effects of that political Distemper; for surely, the more sensible we are of its Deformity and fatal Consequences, the more we shall abhor the Crime, and the more we abhor it, the more ready every one will be to agree to our spending one Day at least, in endeavouring to find a Remedy for the contagious Distemper. I shall grant, that none of your Lordships have attempted to justify Corruption. I hope no Lord will ever dare to do so in this House; but without Doors it has been justified, as a necessary Means of Government; nay Pamphlets, or rather Libels upon the Nation, have been wrote for this very Purpose, and supposed to have been countenanced by those whose Business and Duty it was to have suppressed them. But tho' none of your Lordships have endeavoured to justify

Corruption, yet, I cannot think, that those who oppose this Question, are so sensible of its fatal Effects as they ought to be; for, suppose this Bill imperfect, suppose the Methods proposed ineffectual, yet, this can be no Reason for our refusing to go into a Committee upon the Bill: We may be able to amend the Bill, so as to make it a perfect and effectual Bill; and, as the noble Lord who spoke last seems to think, that by an able and willing Physician, a Specifick may be found for every political Distemper, I hope he will give us his Assistance; for I make no Question of his Ability, and I hope he will not, by his giving his Negative to this Question, give me any Room to doubt of his Will.

How the noble Lord came to imagine, that a Gentleman who had received a just Reward from the Crown, or that any Gentleman would be excluded, by this Bill, from having a Seat in the other House, I cannot comprehend. My Lords, I have perused the Bill with all possible Care, and I can find no Words by which any Man is excluded from having a Seat in the other House, unless he refuses to take the Oath prescribed by the Bill. But the noble Lord says, the other House may, upon his making the Declaration proposed, exclude him by a Vote of their House. That is to say, they may expel him. In this Case, can it be said, that the Gentleman is excluded by this Bill? No, my Lords, he is excluded by their Vote; and that Vote cannot be founded upon this Bill, but upon the Common Law, or upon the Laws now in being against Pensioners. Therefore, this Bill contains no Extension, nor the least Innovation of any of the Laws now in being, with respect to those that have, or have not a Right to sit and vote in the House of Commons; nor can that House, by this Bill, acquire

require any Right or Power but what they now enjoy.

I shall grant, my Lords, that no Member ought to be expelled by the other House without a just Cause; but, in this Respect, it must be allowed, that the Members of the other House are the sole and absolute Judges. Suppose they should, by a Vote, expel a Gentleman unjustly, can that Vote or Sentence be now questioned in any other Judicature or Assembly? My Lords, it is now as absolute and as irreversibile as it can be, should this Bill be passed into a Law; and, if they have hitherto made no wrong Use of this absolute and uncontrollable Power, why should we suspect their doing so in Time to come? With respect to the Rewards and Gratuities that are given by the Crown for real publick Services, they are always well known, and openly acknowledged: They have always been so; and, as the other House has never yet thought of looking upon any of them as a Pension or Bribe, or of expelling a Member on account of his having received such a Reward or Gratuity, tho' the Receiving of it was openly and without any legal Compulsion avowed, can we think that a Gentleman's acknowledging, in Pursuance of an Act of Parliament, the Receipt of such a Gratuity or Reward, will any way alter the Conduct of the other House in this Respect? With regard to such Gratuities or Rewards, let the future Conduct of the other House be what it will, it can be no way influenced by this Bill; because, as such Rewards and Gratuities are publicly given, and as publicly received, a Proof can never be wanting, the other House will always hear of them, tho' no such Bill as this should ever pass, and they may, if they have a Mind, expel the Receiver either upon his own Acknowledgment, or upon a

Proof, or upon common Fame; but I must deny, that they can load him with Infamy, or make the World believe, that he is a corrupt Betrayer of his Trust.

Real Infamy, my Lords, is a Punishment that can be inflicted by nothing but the Justice of the Sentence; for when a Court or Assembly decrees that to be a Crime which is really a Virtue, or finds a Man guilty that to the World appears to be innocent, the Infamy recoils upon the Judges, and their Sentence does Honour to the Person condemned. This would be the Case, if ever the other House should unjustly expel a Man for receiving a just Reward for some publick Service: The Nation he had served, and the King who had rewarded him, would rise up in his Vindication; and a Sentence of Infamy as well as Dissolution would certainly be passed upon such a factious Assembly. But, if Corruption should ever spread over a Majority of the other House: If a Ministry should, by Flattery, gain the absolute Direction of his Sovereign, and by Bribes and Pensions, the Direction of the House of Commons; no Man will suppose, I believe, that such a House would ever expel a Member for receiving a Gratuity or Reward from the Crown; and tho' a Sentence of Infamy might very probably be passed upon the whole Assembly by the Nation, yet, no Sentence of Dissolution would ever be passed upon it by the Crown. It is this, my Lords, that may render the other House both contemptible and factious. It may become a ministerial Faction for oppressing the People and betraying the Sovereign: Then, indeed, it will become contemptible: The very Name of Parliament would, in a short Time, become hateful to the People; and then it would not only be easy for an ambitious Prince, but happy

happy for the Nation, to have the Use of Parliaments laid entirely aside.

The Danger therefore of not preventing Corruption in the other House is very great, and as to the Dangers pretended to arise from the Methods proposed by this Bill for preventing it, there is not the least Foundation for them; because they arise not from this Bill, but from a supposed Abuse of Power in the other House; and this, I have shewn, that House is as liable to run into, should this Bill never pass, as they can be supposed to be, after it is passed into a Law. Nay, they will be more liable to run into an Abuse of their Power, should no such Bill as this be ever passed; because a corrupt House of Commons, under the Influence of an arbitrary and wicked Minister, may more probably run into an Abuse of their Power, against the Friends and Servants of their Country, and continue that Abuse longer, than a factious House of Commons can be supposed to do, against the Friends and Servants of the Crown; for this plain Reason, because the Crown may, and certainly will put an End to the Power of the latter, as soon as they begin to abuse it; but the Crown will never put an End to the Power of the former, as long as the King happens to remain under the Direction of such a Minister. There is not therefore the least Shadow of Reason for saying, that the Methods proposed by this Bill for preventing Corruption can be inconvenient or dangerous, either to the Constitution, or to those who may hereafter happen to be Members of the other House; and, as to their being improper, because of the trifling Gratuities Members may sometimes receive from the Crown, the Objection, I think, is as ill founded. My Lords, if a Gentleman of the other House should receive a Horse, a Watch, or any other Trifle from

the Crown, I can see no Impropriety in obliging him to declare it: If he receives it upon any honourable Account, I am sure he will, he ought to declare it, whether he be obliged by Law to do so or no; and, I am sure, there is no Impropriety in our taking every Method that can be thought of, for preventing the Members of the other House from receiving a Present from the Crown upon any dishonourable Consideration.

Now, my Lords, with regard to the Effect this Bill may have upon the Abandoned, I shall grant, the Sin of Perjury will have very little Effect upon them; but the Penalties of Perjury will have an Effect even upon the most Abandoned, otherwise we must suppose, that the Laws now in being against Pensioners are ridiculous. When a Crime can be secretly committed, I shall grant, it is a great Encouragement to its being often committed; but all Crimes are committed under an Expectation of Secrecy, yet, we find they are often discovered; and Corruption is not one of that Sort of Crimes that may the most secretly be committed, because there must always be at least two Persons concerned, and if we should lay a Penalty upon the Corruptor as well as the Corrupted, these Companions in Iniquity may, as others do, impeach one another. Therefore our adding the Penalties of Perjury to the Penalties already by Law inflicted, will certainly have some Effect upon the most Abandoned, and the Sin of Perjury will, I hope, prevent some from accepting of any corrupt Gratuity from the Crown; for tho' it be wrong to accept of any such Gratuity, yet, it has been, and may often be accepted, without the Receiver's supposing, he thereby betrays that Trust which is reposed in him by his Country.

But

But the noble Lords, who have spoke against this Bill, are all under a Mistake when they suppose, that the Penalties already by Law inflicted can, even in case of a Discovery, be made effectual against every Sort of Corruption; and, to shew this, my Lords, I must observe, that Corruption is of four Sorts. It is either by way of Pension during Pleasure, or by way of Pension during a Term of Years; or, it is by way of a Sum of Money paid for the whole dirty Work of a Session, or by way of a Sum paid and repeated for every particular infamous Jobb. The first two Sorts were long thought so innocent, that it was a Question, whether such Men should be excluded from their Seats in the other House, and therefore it became necessary to exclude them by express Statute, under the Penalties mentioned in those Statutes; but before a Man can be subjected to those Penalties, it must be proved, that he had a Pension settled upon him by Sign Manual, or some other Sort of Grant, either during Pleasure or for a Term of Years: From thence it is plain, that neither of the two other Sorts of Corruption can be brought within these Statutes, or subjected to the Penalties thereby inflicted; and this, I believe, is the chief Reason that those Penalties could never be recovered; because, if there are, or have been any Pensioners in the other House, those Pensioners have been paid annually without any Sign Manual, or other Grant for establishing them, and such Pensioners or corrupt Persons are neither excluded by those Statutes, nor subject to the Penalties thereby inflicted. But, will any Lord say, that such infamous Corruption is not prohibited by Law. My Lords, those that receive a Sum of Money for the dirty Work of a Session, or for any particular infamous Jobb,

are excluded from their Seats in the other House by Common Law; and therefore it was unnecessary to make any express Statute for excluding them. If the Fact could be discovered, they would of course be expelled; but, even upon a Discovery, they are as yet subject to no Penalty by express Statute, nor could they, I believe, be prosecuted by any Method at Common Law. One of the chief Intents of this Bill therefore is, to prevent a Member's being guilty of either of these; which are the most infamous Sorts of Corruption, by subjecting the Person so corrupted to a Prosecution at Common Law, and to the Penalties of Perjury, in case he should receive such a Bribe, and afterwards be so wicked as to deny it upon Oath. Whether this will be altogether effectual I shall not say: I believe it will not; but, I am sure, it will be more effectual than to leave such Criminals, as they are at present, absolutely free from any Penalty, nay, from any Prosecution at Common Law; and therefore I must think, that those Lords who are against our going into a Committee upon this Bill, are far from having that Horror which they ought to have, at the infamous, contagious, and dangerous Practice of Corruption.

By Way of Introduction to the next Debate I shall give you an Account of, I must inform your Readers, that as we seldom miss having a Debate in our Club, upon every important Question that happens in Parliament, we had last Winter three several Debates, upon the three following Questions, viz.

1st, Whether or no an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions to lay before Parliament, Copies or Extracts of such Memorials or Representations.

presentations, as had been made either to the King of Spain or his Ministers, from the Treaty of *Seville* to *March 9, 1738*, relating to any Losses sustained by his Majesty's Subjects, by Depredations committed by the *Spaniards* in *Europe* or *America*, which had not before been laid before Parliament.

2dly, Whether or no an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions, to lay before Parliament, Copies or Extracts of all Letters written and Instructions given by the Secretaries of State, or Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, to any of the Governors of the *British* Plantations in *America*, or any Commander in Chief or Captains of his Majesty's Ships of War, or his Majesty's Minister in *Spain*, and Consuls in *Europe*, from the Treaty of *Seville* to *January 1, 1738*, relating to any Losses sustained by his Majesty's Subjects, by Depredations committed by the *Spaniards* in *Europe* or *America*, which had not before been laid before Parliament.

3dly, Whether or no an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions, to lay before Parliament, Copies of all the Instructions and Letters sent to Mr. Keene by his Majesty's Ministers, authorizing him to conclude and sign the Convention between his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, on *Jan. 14, 1739*, N. S.

Upon each of these Questions, I say, we had a Debate in our Club; but as you cannot spare Room for all the three, I shall give you only the two last.

Upon the second of these Questions, after our Club had assumed a proper Character, M. Cato opened the Debate in Substance as follows, viz.

Mr. President,

S I R,

ALTHO' the Success of the last Motion must be a Discouragement to any Gentleman to make a Motion in this House, which he thinks will not be approved by the Minister, yet, as I am resolved always to do my Duty as a Member of this House, without regard to the Success I may meet with, as I am resolved to consider only what may be agreeable to the People I represent, and what they may justly expect, without regard to its being agreeable or disagreeable to a Minister, I shall beg Leave to make you a Motion, which, I think, is not liable to the Objections made against the last, and therefore, I hope, it will meet with a happier Fate. For these two last Sessions, Sir, this House, and the whole Nation, were entertained and amused with the strongest Assurances, that the Negotiations then carrying on with the Court of *Spain* would at last end in a safe and honourable Peace. This would have been a good End, an End for which we had Reason to negotiate, and an End which every good Man wished to see, tho' very few expected it; but as, during the whole Time of these Negotiations, we were put to a great Expence, and suffering many of the Calamities of a real War, we ought not to have continued our Negotiations, unless we had very good Grounds to expect a speedy and happy Issue; and in the mean Time, those Squadrons, which the Nation was put to the Expence of fitting out, ought to have been employ'd in protecting our Trade, from those warlike Insults which, under peaceful Pretences, were frequently put upon the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom.

If our Negotiations had ended in a safe and honourable Peace, as we were

were often assured they would, the People would have concluded, that those Hopes upon which we had for so many Years continued our Negotiations, were well founded, and the Fruits of an honourable Peace and flourishing Trade would have made them forget the Injuries they had suffered, and the Dangers they had been exposed to. Like a weary Traveller, they would have rejoiced in the Warmth and Convenience of their Quarters, and would have forgot the Toils and the Dangers of that long and tedious Circuit, they had been obliged to make, in order to come safely to their Lodging. But as our Negotiations have now taken a quite different Turn, the People neither can suppose, that we had ever any well-grounded Hopes of Success by Negotiation, nor can they forget the Insults they were exposed to, and the Injuries they suffered, by the Continuance of these hopeless Negotiations. They not only conclude, that we continued to negotiate after being deprived of all Hopes of Success in that Way, but that very little Care was taken, in the mean Time, to protect our Trade from those Dangers and Inconveniences it was exposed to, by these very Negotiations.

If these Conclusions are wrong, Sir, if our Hopes of Success by Negotiation were well founded, and proper Care taken to protect our Trade in the mean Time, I am sure the Parliament cannot do a more effectual Service to the Administration, than to enquire into the Grounds upon which our Ministers continued to negotiate, and into the Care they took to protect our Trade, while they thus continued to negotiate; and as no such Enquiry can be made, without having all the necessary Papers and Materials before us, I hope, in the Motion I am to make, I shall have the Con-
currence of every Gentleman con-

cerned in the Administration; for when a Man is blamed or accused, either by a private Person, or by the publick Voice of his Country, I am always willing to suppose him innocent, unless he gives me Reason to suspect him guilty, by his industriously avoiding a fair Enquiry into his Conduct. For this Reason, I say, Sir, I hope, I shall have the Concurrence of every Gentleman concerned in the Administration; for I shall be sorry to find them, by their Opposition within Doors, justifying and confirming the scandalous Conclusions that are made against them without.

But, Sir, whatever Reception my Motion may meet with from those concerned in the Administration, I am sure it is a Motion that will be agreeable to every Man, who has no Share in the Administration, nor any particular Dependence upon it; and it is a Motion which every Man, that has suffered by our Negotiations, or may suffer by the War, has a Right to have complied with. When any great Misfortune is brought upon the Nation, the People expect, they ought to be informed, how that Misfortune came to be brought upon them. This Information they cannot expect from those concern'd in the Management of our national Affairs: They will not rest satisfied with any Accounts they can give, and in this they are in the right, because those that are concerned in the Conduct of publick Affairs may be, and are often, the chief Cause of the publick Misfortune. In all such Cases, it is from Parliament the People expect Information, it is from the Parliament only they can expect Satisfaction. It is for this they send us here; and if we do not give the People this Satisfaction by a fair and impartial Enquiry into the Causes of the Misfortune, we neglect one of the chief Ends of our meeting

in this House. I hope it will be granted, that War is at all Times, and to every Nation, a very great Misfortune: It is not yet a Twelve-month ago, since it was represented as such a terrible Misfortune, that a Nation ought to submit to the most cruel Indignities, the most tedious Negotiations, the most scandalous Convention, rather than involve itself in a War. I did not then, I do not now, look upon War in such a terrible Light; but yet I look upon it as a Misfortune, which no Man ought to involve his Country in, if it can be avoided; and therefore, if there be any amongst ourselves who, by their Folly, have involved us in this Misfortune, their Conduct ought to be enquired into, and their Persons removed from our Councils, that the Nation may not suffer a second Time by their Folly; for if we do not remove such Men from our Councils, they may bring us into a second Misfortune, ten Times worse than the first.

This, Sir, is what the People are afraid of: They feel the Misfortune of the War, and, I fear, will feel it severely before it can be brought to an honourable Conclusion: They suspect, we have been led into it by the Weakness of our own Conduct: By not understanding our own Rights, or not representing them in a proper Manner to the Court of *Spain*, that Court, they suspect, has been encouraged to form new Pretensions against us; and that by mean Concessions in former Treaties, and by too patiently and too long submitting to Indignities, we at last made that Court believe, that nothing could provoke us to declare War against them. This is suspected by most Men in the Nation to be the remote Cause of the present War; and for removing or confirming their Suspicions, they expect, they justly expect a fair and impartial Enquiry into the Conduct

of our publick Affairs: If by this Enquiry we remove these Suspicions, we do Justice to our Ministers; if thereby we find them confirmed, I hope we shall do Justice to the Nation.

A The People, Sir, have long suffered, and greatly: Our Ships have been seized, our Merchants often plundered, our Seamen long treated in the most cruel Manner, by a Nation we could have crushed to Atoms, if we had properly and seasonably made use of our Power. The People expect to see a Reason given for making them suffer so long; especially, since the Reason hitherto given, appears now to be no Reason at all. Every one knows, that our Merchants and Seamen have been complaining of the Depredations committed upon them by the *Spaniards*, for this Dozen of Years past. During all that Time we have been in a continual Course of Negotiation, and the Sufferers have always been told with great Confidence, that our Reason for not putting an End to their Sufferings by a Declaration of War, was the certain Hopes we had of putting an End to them by a Treaty of Peace. This now appears to have been a very insufficient Reason; and it cannot be said, it was less convenient, or less safe for us to have declared War, or issued Reprizals, against *Spain*, Ten or a Dozen Years ago, than it was in the Month of *June* last; for the Affairs of *Europe* were never in so unlucky a Situation for this Kingdom, as they were at that Time, nor was the Power of *Spain* then less, or the Power of this Nation then more considerable, than for twenty Years preceding. Nay, the Power of *Spain* was last *June* more considerable than it had been for a Dozen of Years before, because they had in that Time made large Additions to their Navy, and had united themselves more firmly to the

the Court of *France*: Whereas we had made no Addition to our Strength: We had relieved our People from none of the Taxes they groaned under, nor paid off any considerable Part of our National Debt; and by our Conduct we had in that Time detached from us every useful Ally we had, or could have in the World. Therefore, I must conclude, that last Summer was the worst of any preceding Time for this Nation to engage in a War; from whence it is natural to suppose, and the whole Nation does suppose, that neither our former pacifick, nor our present warlike Measures proceeded from any national Concern, but from some Motives of a private Nature, which we ought, and certainly will enquire into, if we shew a due Regard either to our Country or Constituents.

Another, and, I think, a very strong Reason, Sir, for our enquiring into the Causes of the War is, the Confidence with which the Court of *Spain* has publicly asserted, that the War is owing to a Breach of Stipulations on the Part of this Nation. It is, indeed, lucky for us, that *Spain* took from thence an Occasion not to perform her Part of the last scandalous Treaty we made with her; for the last is far from being the first scandalous Treaty we have lately made with that Nation. It is lucky for us, the *Spaniards* refused to pay the 95,000 *l.* stipulated by the late Convention; for if they had made that Payment at the Time appointed, we should have been pinned down to a new ten Years Negotiation, during which Time their *Guarda Costa's* would have had a Sort of new Indulgence to have plundered our Merchants, and by that Means they would soon have reimburs'd themselves the Sum they paid for that Indulgence. But as the Reasons given by *Spain*, for

not making that Payment, are founded on Breaches of Conditions on our Part; as those Conditions are such as were never ratified by his Majesty; and as they have never yet been denied by any publick Authority in this Kingdom, they ought certainly to be enquired into by Parliament, for vindicating the Honour of our Ministers, if they are innocent, and for vindicating the Honour of his Majesty and the Nation, by punishing them, or sending them over in Fetters to the Enemy, if they are guilty.

In short, Sir, to have suffered so long and so much, in Hopes of a Peace, and yet at last to find ourselves in a War, and that at a Time the most inconvenient, the most dangerous for this Nation, affords such Presumptions against the Wisdom of those that have lately conducted our publick Affairs, and has raised such a general Suspicion and Distrust among the People, that in Duty to our Country, in Duty to our Sovereign, and, I hope, in Justice to those who have been concerned, we ought to make strict Enquiry into our late Negotiations with *Spain*. Whoever may be to blame, we are very certain, both from the Nature of our Constitution, and the Knowledge we have of his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, that he can have no Share in it; and, therefore, when general Suspicions and Complaints are rais'd among the People, it is the Duty, it is one of the great Uses of Parliaments, to enquire into the Grounds of them, in order, either to convince the People that there is no solid Ground for such Suspicions or Complaints, or to reconcile them to their Sovereign, by detecting and punishing the Guilty, or at least by preventing their having any farther Concern in advising or conducting our publick Affairs. This, I say, is at all Times the Duty of Parliament,

ment, but especially when the Nation is just entered into an expensive and dangerous War, and a War too, which a great Part of the People believe to be owing to the tedious perplexed Negotiations we have for so many Years been carrying on at the Court of *Spain*, and the tame Submissions we have made to the repeated Insults of that haughty Nation.

Can the Nation, Sir, expect a prudent or a vigorous Prosecution of the War from those who, they believe, have been guilty of so much Imprudence and Weakness in Time of Peace? Can our Soldiers or Sailors act with Courage or Vigour, when they are diffident of the Conduct of those, who are their chief Directors? Can our People pay with Pleasure their Taxes, when the chief Management and Application is to be intrusted to those, in whose Conduct they can put no Trust? Sir, if we expect Success in the War, if we expect to put a speedy and an honourable End to it, we must remove the present Suspicions of the People, or remove those that have caused them; and neither of these can be done, but by a fair, an impartial, and a strict Parliamentary Enquiry into our late Conduct, especially that Part of it which relates to our Transactions with the Court of *Spain*. This Enquiry we have a Right, and are, in Duty to our Sovereign, as well as our Constituents, bound to make; and this Enquiry will, I hope, turn out to the Advantage and Honour of those that have been concerned. I hope we shall be able to remove the Suspicions of the People, by shewing them, that all our late Transactions with *Spain* have been carried on with Wisdom, Steadiness, and Perspicuity; but this cannot be done, unless we have laid before us all those Papers that are necessary for giving us a thorough Insight into

those Transactions; for if the proper Materials are denied, the People will not believe, that we are either serious or impartial in our Enquiry; and in that Case, instead of removing their Suspicions, with regard to our Ministers, we shall render them discontented, nay desperate, as well as diffident, by giving them a Suspicion of the Integrity of their Representatives.

For this Reason, Sir, I shall conclude with moving, That, &c. (as mentioned in the second Question, page 62.)

The next that spoke upon this Question was Pomponius Atticus, the Purport of whose Speech was thus:

Mr. President,
S I R,

I MUST think, that Gentlemen give themselves a very unnecessary Trouble, when, upon this Occasion, or any Occasion of the like Nature, they talk to us of the Right we have to enquire into the Conduct of any publick Measure. In former Times, this Right may, perhaps, have been denied, by the Parasites of Princes who aimed at arbitrary Power. But it is a Right that has never, of late Years, been denied: It has never been, I believe, so much as insinuated by any Gentleman now in this House, that we have not such a Right, or that it ought not to be exercised upon every proper Occasion. But, as Parliamentary Enquiries into the Conduct of those that are employed by the Crown, are generally the Cause of great Ferments in the Nation, especially when they are directed against those in high Stations, and as such Enquiries are always dangerous as well as troublesome, even to the best and most faithful Servants of the Crown, they ought not to be set on foot, but when there is an absolute and apparent Necessity for

for so doing. We may remember, the very last Enquiry that was set on foot, raised such a Ferment in the Nation, as, at last, ended in a dangerous and destructive Civil War. That Enquiry was absolutely and apparently necessary; but necessary as it was, if we had, at that Time, been engaged in a foreign War, I should have been for putting it off till the Conclusion of the War; for, if the disaffected or discontented Party, call them which you will, could have had any foreign Assistance, they might, perhaps, have been able to have turned the Tables, and instead of having their Conduct enquired into and punished as it deserved, they might have enquired into and punished the Conduct of those who had so justly set up an Enquiry into theirs.

All such Enquiries, Sir, must therefore be allowed to be of dangerous Consequence to the Tranquillity of the Nation; and, if we consider by whom such Enquiries are generally set on foot and carried on, we must allow, that they are not only troublesome but dangerous to the Persons whose Conduct is enquired into. They are generally set on foot by the personal Enemies of those in the Administration, and are usually carried on with a Zeal for condemning, which stifles every Sentiment of Compassion, and makes human Frailties appear to be monstrous Crimes. I shall grant, Sir, that it is a great Advantage to a Person accused, either by a private Informer, or by a public Report, to be legally tried and fairly acquitted; yet, nevertheless, I believe, no such Person would chuse to put himself upon his Trial, if he could conveniently avoid it; for even the most Innocent may, by some Accident or Mistake, be condemned, and therefore a prudent Man, let his Innocence be never so apparent, will always chuse

to vindicate his Character by some other Method, rather than run the Risk of a legal and formal Trial. For this Reason, Sir, I shall be no way surprized, if I find the Friends of those who were concerned in our late Negotiations with *Spain*, opposing any Parliamentary Enquiry into those Negotiations; especially as I am convinced, whatever some Gentlemen may please to suggest, that there was not one wrong Step made in the whole Course of that Transaction.

I presume, Sir, it will appear from what I have said, that no Parliamentary Enquiry ought ever to be set on foot, but when there is an absolute and apparent Necessity for so doing; and therefore, I shall next observe, that there never can be such a Necessity, but when there appears to have been a flagrant Error in some Part of the Conduct of our publick Affairs. A national Misfortune is no just Cause for a Parliamentary Enquiry, unless there be Ground to believe, that it was owing to the Crime, the Neglect, or the Weakness of those who were concerned in advising or conducting our publick Affairs. I shall most readily admit, that War is a great Misfortune to any Nation; and that it is a greater Misfortune to a trading Nation, than to any other: To which I must add, that to this Nation, I believe, it is a greater Misfortune to be involved in a War with *Spain*, than with any other Nation in *Europe*. But this is so far from being a Reason for an Enquiry, that it is a Justification of the pacifick Measures so long pursued by the Administration. Their avoiding a War as long as possible, their endeavouring as much as they could to bring Matters to an Accommodation, is, in my Opinion, a Manifestation of their Prudence, and of their stedfast Regard for the Trade and Happiness of their Country.

Suppose

Suppose it true, which I have good Reason to believe is far from being the Case, that the *Spaniards* were so wrong-headed as to look upon our Regard for ourselves, as a Sign of our Fear of them, could this be called a Weakness in those who had the Management of our Affairs, especially as they have now convinced the *Spaniards* of their Error? And, if the Court of *Spain* did really fall into such an Error, I hope, the Event of the present War will be a lasting Memorial for that Nation, never to fall into such another.

Thus, Sir, I think, it is evident, that our present Misfortune of being engaged in a War with *Spain*, can be no Reason for setting up a Parliamentary Enquiry into our late Transactions with that Nation, unless it should be said, that we made unreasonable Demands upon them, or entered precipitately into the War, neither of which, I believe, will be expressly alledged by any of those Gentlemen who now seem so fond of Parliamentary Enquiries, tho' the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to insinuate something like it; for, I must think, a War is precipitately entered into, if it is begun at the very worst Time that could have been chosen for that Purpose. I cannot, however, be of his Opinion: I cannot think, that last Summer was the worst, or the most improper Time we could have chosen for entering into a War, or ordering Reprisals, against *Spain*. The Additions made by *Spain* to its Navy, we knew, could be of no Signification in a War against this Nation; and tho' the Courts of *France* and *Spain* have been of late more firmly united than they were about fifteen Years ago; yet that Union will not, I hope, prevail with *France* to assist the *Spaniards* in an unjust War against us; but, if it should, it is not to be imputed to any Error in

our Conduct, but to the present Circumstances of the two Courts; for whilst the present King of *Spain* lives, it is natural to suppose, that there will be an Union between the two; and this is another very strong Argument for justifying the Length, or if Gentlemen please, the Tedioufness of our Negotiations; because, if the present King of *Spain* had, in the mean Time, happened to die, we should probably have found that Court more flexible, and more inclined to come to a friendly Accommodation with us. But, as that Event did not happen, and as it became at last absolutely necessary for us to vindicate our Rights by Force of Arms, we were obliged to take our Fate, let who would declare against us; for, let the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* be what it will, I hope, it will always be the Happiness of this Nation to find proper and powerful Allies upon the Continent, as soon as we have Occasion for them. But, I must observe, Sir, that the best Method to have good Allies, is to shew them, we can stand upon our own Legs; for, if they should suppose, we cannot do without them, they will of course impose harder Terms upon us, than they could otherwise think of.

With regard to our own Conduct therefore, I do not think, there is the least Ground for suspecting it of any Weakness, either in the Negotiations that preceded the War, or in the Time we chose for commencing it; and consequently there can be no Necessity for an Enquiry. I, indeed, never heard of a Parliamentary Enquiry into publick Measures, unless they were such as had been first censured by Parliament. Can this, Sir, be alledged against any Part of our Negotiations with *Spain*? Those Negotiations did at last end in a Treaty: That Treaty was approved of by Parliament. If

it had been censured, there would then have been good Reason for enquiring into the Negotiations by which it was concluded; but, so far otherwise, it was approved of, and justly approved of by both Houses, in my Opinion, whatever some other Gentlemen might think of it. By that Treaty, a Reparation for the Damages our Merchants had suffered was expressly promised; and a proper Provision was made for preventing any Search in Time to come. This was all we could desire, and the Consequence has shewn, it was a good Treaty for this Nation: The *Spaniards* thought it so good for us, that they afterwards refused to perform their Part of it; and this is the true and the sole Cause of the present War; therefore, I am surprized, any Gentleman should pretend to be ignorant of the Cause of this War, or that a Parliamentary Enquiry is necessary for informing any Man in the Kingdom what was the Cause of the War.

Whatever Doubts some Gentlemen within Doors may have, however much they may refine, about the remote Cause of the War, I am persuaded, Sir, no Gentleman, or at least very few, without Doors, pretend to doubt of the Court of *Spain's* being the sole Cause of the War, by refusing to fulfil that Convention they had so lately and so solemnly agreed to. And, I am as fully persuaded, that with regard to the Negotiations which ended in that Treaty, there are no Complaints without Doors amongst Men of Figure and Sense, except such as are prejudiced by their Passions, or such as are disaffected to his Majesty, and consequently ready to find fault with every Thing done by his Servants. If there are any Complaints without Doors, they are wholly among the Vulgar, the Ignorant, the Prejudiced and the Dis-

affected; and if this House were to shew so great a Regard to the Complaints of such Men, as to enter into a Parliamentary Enquiry, in order to convince or satisfy them, we should never be able to do any Thing else but enquire, nor would such Enquiries ever convince or satisfy them, but, on the contrary, would afford them new Matter for Complaint.

Therefore, Sir, whatever Right we may have to enquire, however much it may be our Duty to enquire into publick Transactions, we are at present under no Necessity, nor have we any Occasion to take up our Time with Enquiries. But even suppose an Enquiry were necessary, yet it may be prudent to delay going upon it for some Time; and this, I think, is the Case with regard to the Enquiry now proposed. Suppose it were necessary to enquire into our Negotiations with *Spain* antecedent to the Convention, it would, I think, be very imprudent to go upon it in this Session of Parliament; because it would be necessary to have several Papers laid before us, which it would be most imprudent to make publick, as every Paper must be, that is laid before such a numerous Assembly. Whether the Papers now moved for may be necessary for an Enquiry into our late Negotiations with *Spain*, I shall not determine; but this I may with Confidence affirm, that the laying of all the Letters and Instructions moved for, before this Assembly, might be attended with most fatal Consequences to the Nation.

We all know, Sir, that the *Spaniards* lay the whole Blame of the War upon us, by pretending, we were the first that broke the Convention. Their Pretences, indeed, are so weak, and so apparently ill-founded, that they do not deserve an Answer, and far less the Notice

of this House; but if this Motion should be agreed to, and complied with by his Majesty, the Letters and Instructions thereby called for, might afford the *Spaniards* some plausible Grounds, at least more plausible than any they have yet alledged, for saying, it was this Nation that first violated the Convention. If from these Papers it should appear, that hostile Instructions were sent to any of our Sea-Commanders, or to any of our Governors, tho' it should appear at the same Time, that those Instructions were conditional, and not to be carried into Execution, unless the Court of *Spain* should refuse such or such a reasonable Demand, yet that Court would from thence argue, that we had dealt deceitfully, or not candidly, by them; because it from thence appeared, that we had been preparing to attack them, at the very Time we were treating with them. Besides this, there are many other Circumstances might appear from the Papers and Instructions now called for, which might give the Court of *Spain* some Colour, tho' no real Ground, for laying the Blame of the War at our Door; and as we do not know what Effect these colourable Pretences might have upon foreign Courts, all of whom now look upon the War, as owing to the Obstinacy of the *Spaniards* alone, we ought not, I think, in Prudence, to call for any Papers that may probably furnish our Enemies with such Pretences.

Another fatal Consequence that may probably arise from having these Papers laid before us, is a Discovery of those Designs that are now to be executed against the Enemy. Let us consider, Sir, the Circumstances the Nation was in last Year. His Majesty was by the Advice of his Parliament to make a last Attempt for accommodating

our Differences with *Spain* in an amicable Manner: For this Purpose, he was to make a peremptory Demand of every Thing we had a Right to insist on; and for making this Demand effectual, or at least to give it its due Weight, he sent Admiral *Haddock* with a Squadron into the *Mediterranean*, and Commodore *Brown* with another to the *West-Indies*; in order to shew the Court of *Spain*, that we were resolved to begin Hostilities, if they attempted to quibble with us any longer. This had the desired Effect: It produced the Convention, by which, as I have said, we obtained all we could desire. We must suppose, that these Squadrons were furnished with Instructions for beginning Hostilities, in Case the Court of *Spain* had absolutely refused to treat with us upon a reasonable Footing; and consequently we must suppose, that in these Instructions there were Schemes laid down, how our Squadrons were to begin the Attack, and where they were to make the first hostile Attempt upon the Enemy. As *Spain* submitted, and concluded a most reasonable Treaty with us, there was then no Occasion for carrying any of those Schemes or Designs into Execution; but now that *Spain* has, by adding Breach of Faith to her former Obstinacy, obliged us to begin the War, these Schemes or Designs, or some of them, must now be carried into Execution; and before this is done, I am sure it would be very imprudent to discover them to the Enemy, which would be the certain Consequence of having the Letters and Instructions now called for, laid before us. We should thereby give *Spain* an Opportunity of providing against every Attack we can make, and of taking all possible Means for rendering our Designs against them abortive.

Sir, whatever Opinion the People without

without Doors may have of the past Conduct of those, who have the Direction of our publick Affairs, I am certain, they would have no good Opinion of, nor any Confidence in their future Conduct, should they agree to this Motion, or advise his Majesty to comply with it; I must, therefore, be of Opinion, that, should we agree to the Address proposed, his Majesty would find himself under a Necessity of refusing our Request; and as I am very well assured, that his Majesty will never refuse any reasonable Request that can be made to him by his Parliament, I shall always be against making any Request, which, I think, he cannot in Prudence, or consistently with the Welfare of his Kingdoms, fully comply with. The Address proposed, I hope, I have shewn to be a Request of this Nature; this is the Light I view it in; and this is a most substantial Reason for my giving a Negative to the Motion.

[This DEBATE and JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

Common Sense, Jan. 24. N^o 207.

Of the State of Affairs in the West-Indies.

S I R,

A LATE * Writer has undertaken to prove, that we have been for these 20 Years, under the Influence of French Counsels: I wish I could positively say, that he has not performed what he undertakes. However, I hope, the Case is not now the same; and yet, when I consider the late, and for what I know, the present Circumstances of our Affairs in the West-Indies, I think, I have some Reason to fear, that we are still in the same Condition, or have already fallen under

a very great Misfortune in that Part of the World. This melancholy Conjecture is grounded upon this Fact, that from the Middle of October to the Middle or End of last Month, the French and Spaniards had, if not prevented by Providence, above 40 Men of War of the Line, and 5000 regular Forces, on board or ready to be put on board, against Admiral Vernon with not above 10 or 12 Men of War of the Line at most, and without any regular Forces, except the Independent Companies in Jamaica, and the Regiment in the Leeward Islands, both which did not amount to above 1200 effective Men.

The Spanish Ferrol Squadron, consisting of 14 Men of War of the Line and some Frigates, with 2000 regular Troops on board, sailed from Ferrol about the End of July; the French Toulon Squadron, consisting of 12 Men of War of the Line, of which 4 were sent back, sailed from Toulon about the End of August; and the two French Brest Squadrons, consisting, the first of 5 Ships of the Line, and the second of 15, of which one was disabled and forced to return, sailed from Brest, the one before, and the other about the Time, their Squadron sailed from Toulon.— Thus it appears, that in the Months of July and August, no less than 41 French and Spanish Men of War, sailed from Europe for the West-Indies, besides the 10 Spanish Men of War, then at Carthagena and the Havana, making in all 51 Men of War of the Line; and we have lately heard, that all these Squadrons arrived at Martinique and Porto Rico, soon after the Beginning of October, or about the Middle of that Month; but as some of these Ships were, 'tis said, disabled by the Hurricane in the West-Indies, and as some of the Spanish Men of War at Carthagena and the Havana were,

K 2

perhaps,

* See a Pamphlet, entitled, French Influence on English Counsels.

perhaps, by their long Stay there, rendered unfit for Service, I shall suppose, they could not, within a Month or six Weeks after their Arrival, fit out for Service above 40 Men of War of the Line, which is the least Number we can suppose them able to fit out, unless they met with a greater Misfortune than we have as yet heard of.

Now it is certain, notwithstanding the fallacious List of our naval Force in the *West-Indies*, lately published in the *Daily Advertiser* and *Gazetteer*, that Admiral Vernon had not with him at that Time, more than 12 Men of War of the Line, nor could he have any greater Number before the Arrival of Admiral Ogle; and as Admiral Ogle failed not from *St. Helen's* till the 26th of October, and had a great Number of Transports under his Convoy, we cannot suppose, that he could reach *Jamaica*, before the Middle or End of last Month; especially, if we consider, that Commodore Anson, who sailed some Time before, with but six Men of War and two Storeships, was 40 Days in his Passage from *Falmouth* to the *Madera's*.

If to these Observations we add, that before the War broke out, the Spaniards had at least 3000 of their best regular Troops at the *Havana*, it must be admitted, that from the Middle of October to the Middle or End of last Month, the Enemy had at least 40 Men of War, and 5000 regular Troops, ready in that Part of the World, to attack and destroy Admiral Vernon and our *Sugar Islands*; and that that brave Admiral had not above 12 Men of War of the Line and 1200 regular Troops, to defend himself and them.

What our next Accounts may be from the *West-Indies*, no Man knows; but from these Circumstances one would be apt to conclude, that, for the Time I have mentioned, we had nothing to depend on, for the

Safety of our *Sugar Islands* and the only Admiral who, since this War began, has done any Honour to his Country, except French Faith and the Providence of God. Nay, if the French and Spanish united Squadrons should have destroyed Admiral Vernon, and taken most of his Ships, before the Arrival of Admiral Ogle, the latter, who carried but 21 Men of War of the Line along with him, would have a hard Match against a Squadron of 50 Men of War of the Line, (which Number the Enemy's would then probably consist of) well provided with every Thing, restored from the Fatigues of a long Voyage, and flushed with recent Victory.

Now, I would ask, whether it is possible for any reasonable Man to suppose, that the French, who have now, I believe, the chief Direction of the War against us, (for sure it is a War, notwithstanding that the Malecontents suggest it to be a mere *Jeu de Theatre* to amuse the World, till a certain Person shall be strengthen'd to make another Convention as good as the last) would neglect so favourable an Opportunity for laying waste our *Sugar Islands*, and destroying Admiral Vernon's, and perhaps Admiral Ogle's Squadron? For that they have had some Probability of doing both, is, I think, evident, unless they have been disappointed by the Providence of God, which has often saved this Nation, when, by our own Conduct, we deserv'd to be utterly undone.—Would it be prudent in such a Case to depend upon the bare Promise of a foreign Power, unless they are sure of being greater and more certain Gainers by keeping it, than they could expect to be by breaking it? And therefore, if we neither hear of their Squadrons being mostly destroyed by a Tempest, nor of our *Sugar Islands* being utterly destroyed by their Squadrons, I must suppose, that the French Court are assured of there being

being a powerful Party amongst ourselves, who, from their *Timidity*, or a worse *Motive*, will submit to any Thing, rather than provoke France to declare against us; and that the French Ministers depend upon this Party for prevailing with us, either to carry on the War against Spain according to their Directions, or to submit to such a Peace as they shall prescribe, as soon as the Choice of a new 7 Years Parliament shall have given this Party (which, I think, I may with Reason call the French Party) an Opportunity to take its full Swing!

Craftsman, Jan. 31. N^o 761.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

AS I employ a good deal of my Time in Reading, and as History is of all Studies the most agreeable to me, and of all Histories, an Account of our English Government and Constitution; so I hope you will excuse my sending you an Observation I made in lately reading the Life of King William III. — Notwithstanding the unwearied Endeavours of his Majesty, whose whole View was the Care of his People, there were a Set of Men, who, like the Malcontents of the present Time, affected to be Patriots, and were always finding fault with the Measures he took; and whenever any Supplies were demanded in Parliament, not only refused their Consent, but could not forbear having a Fling, tho' never so unjustly, at the Proceedings of the Court. Amongst the Members of Parliament of this mock Stamp, I look upon Sir Charles Sidley to be one of the most outrageous; nor could I suppress my Indignation against him, when I read the following Speech he made in that august Assembly.

“Mr. Speaker, We have provided for the Army; we have provided for

the Navy; and now at last a Reckoning is brought; we must likewise provide for the Civil List. Truly, Mr. Speaker, it is a sad Reflection, that some Men should wallow in Wealth and Places, whilst others pay away in Taxes the fourth Part of their Revenue, for the Support of the same Government. We are not upon equal Terms for his Majesty's Service; the Courtiers and great Officers, as it were, charge in Armour; they feel not the Taxes, by reason of their Places, whilst the Country Gentlemen are shot through and through by them. The King is pleased to lay his Wants before us, and, I am confident, expects our Advice upon it; we ought therefore to tell him, what Pensions are too great; what Places may be extinguish'd, during the Time of War and publick Calamity. His Majesty is encompass'd with —; his Majesty sees nothing but Coaches and six Horses, and great Tables, &c. and therefore cannot imagine the Want and Misery of the rest of his Subjects. He is a brave and generous Prince; but he is a young King, encompass'd and hemm'd in by a Company of crafty old Courtiers, to say no more. Some have Places of 3000, some of 6000, and others of 6800 l. per Annum; and I am told, the Commissioners of the Treasury have 1600 l. a-piece. Certainly publick Pensions, whatever they have been formerly, are much too great for the present Want and Calamity, that reign every where else; and it is a general Scandal, that a Government so sick at Heart, as ours is, should look so well in the Face. We must save the King Money; for I am afraid, the War is too great for our Purse, if Things be not managed with all imaginable Thrift. When the People of England see all Things saved, that can be saved; that there are no exorbitant Pensions, or unnecessary Salaries;

ries; and all applied to the Use to which they are given; we shall give, and they will chearfully pay, whatever his Majesty can want, to secure the *Protestant Religion*, and to keep out the King of *France* and King *James*, whom, by the Way, I have not heard named this Session, whether out of Fear, Discretion, or Respect, I cannot tell. I conclude; *Mr. Speaker*, let us save the King whatever we can, and then let us proceed to give him what we are able."

Now, *Mr. D'Anvers*, supposing *Sir Charles Sidley's* Allegations to be true, which I am far from granting, with what Pleasure do I congratulate my Countrymen, that none of his Complaints can be laid to the Charge of the *present Ministry*? Who dares to say, that *exorbitant Pensions* are wantonly and profusely given? Or that those which are given, are too great for our *present Want and Calamity*? Who can say, that our Government is *sick at Heart*, when it looks so well in the Face? Who can assert, with Truth I mean, that any Member is bias'd by a Place, or influenced with a Pension? Who can affirm, that any Place, let it be of 6, 8, or 10,000 *l. Value*, is given to any Person, whose singular Merit doth not justly intitle him to it? Who can grudge a Coach and six Horses, a great House, and a plentiful Table to a MINISTER, whose whole Time is employed in the Service of his Country? Who will refuse to pay a fourth Part of his Estate, by a Land Tax, when all our Measures are so well and wisely conducted? And who will say, that our Courtiers, and great Officers, charge in Armour, and are not sensible of the Burden of the Taxes, when it is plain, that many of them, out of a thorough Contempt of Money, live so generously, that the Income of their Places and Estates together, cannot defray their Expences? Who

can deny, that the *Revenue of the Kingdom* is managed with all imaginable Thrift, when so large a Part of the *national Debt* is paid off? Who can blame the Conduct of the present War? Some hot-headed People, out of an impudent Zeal, would have knock'd on the Head all the poor Spaniards the last Year, when we had them in our Power, and not have given the French Time to have arm'd and join'd them, little considering, that if so rash a Step had been taken, we should not have had Occasion for raising the late additional Forces, and then how would so many pretty Gentlemen have been provided for? Would not many a Country Gentleman, thro' a narrow Way of Thinking, have opposed the Court at the ensuing Elections, had not their Sons and Relations received Promises of Commissions in the late Promotions? These Considerations, if duly examined, must necessarily have Weight with Men of Sense, for nobody can be so ill-natured, as to make any Comparison between the Times, in which *Sir Charles Sidley* displayed his Oratory, allowing what he said to be true, and the present; for the great Affection that is shewn by the whole Body of the People, towards our great and able Minister, is a sufficient Vindication of all his Measures.

A. B.
Common Sense of Jan. 31. reviews the Arguments that were made use of some Years ago, for the Repeal of the Septennial Act; which see in our MAGAZINE for 1734, p. 203, 204, &c.

Universal Spectator, Jan. 31. No 643.

Of the Modern Hoop PETTICOATH

Mr. Stonecastle,

AS there is no Topick but may have some Appearance of Novelty,

velty, tho' it has been treated of before, from the different Humours of People, and the reigning Fashions of the Times, I am induc'd to send you some temporary Reflections on one Part of the female Dress, which has occasionally been the Subject of Contemplation for most of your Predecessors: I hope therefore you will not think it inconsistent with your Gravity to have to do with the Ladies Petticoats, when one of the sagest Philosophers of his Age, the Censor of *Great Britain*, was not asham'd to shew, with the most publick Freedom, that he was very well acquainted with that Part of their Dress, and was scarce ever in a more pleasant Humour than when he was handling it: But altho' he has said a great many Things on the Hoop Petticoat of that Age, the Ladies of this, have so chang'd and new modell'd the Form, the Extent, and the Air of managing theirs, that to consider the modern Hoop, in its Structure, Latitude, Conveniencies and Inconveniencies, may seem only as a proper Appendix to the learned Dissertations already written on this copious Subject.

As to the Original of the Hoop, whether it was an Invention, as some say, of our own Countrywomen, or, as others, that it was first imported from *France*, I will not venture to determine; for the most learned Connoisseurs in female Architecture cannot settle this Point, and I have consulted the Records of *Paulin's* and other Habit Shops about *Covent-Garden*, without finding any satisfactory Account. I am apt to imagine, that it took its first Rise only by enlarging the Form of the antient *Fardingale*, and was confin'd to a very moderate and decent Circumference: But when Innovations of any Kind are introduced, it is very difficult to know to what a Degree they may be car-

ried: This has been the Fate of this very Petticoat, which from its Circumference originally took the Name of a *Hoop*; but which at present extending itself into a wide oblong Form, has nothing of the primitive *Hoop* but its mere Name left.

When we consider what Alterations have been made in the lower Part of the female Dress, and think of the different Figures which our Great Grandmothers made with their Petticoats clinging about their Feet, from the Ladies spreading Coats of this last Age, it admits of a Dispute, whether the old Habit was the more modest, or the modern more polite. I have heard it indeed objected, that the antient Petticoat must necessarily too much confine the Womens Legs; whereas the circular Hoop gave the Feet a Freedom of Motion, shew'd the Beauty of the Leg and Foot which play beneath it, and gain'd Admirers when the Face was too homely to attract the Heart of any Beholder: Some polite Defenders of the late *Convex Cupulo* Hoops have observ'd in their Favour, that they serv'd to keep Men at a proper Distance, and a Lady within that Circle, seem'd to govern in a spacious Verge sacred to herself. I will not here give as many Reasons as may be brought to shew the Fallacy of this Argument; be it sufficient, that it was well known that many Ladies, who wore *Hoops* of the greatest Circumference, were not of the most impregnable Virtue.

For what Reason I will not pretend to say, but the Ladies have found some Inconvenience surely in the circular *Hoop*, that they have chang'd it to that extensive oblong Form they now wear: If that was complain'd of as an Incumbrance, I am certain this must be much more troublesome in the Management both within Doors and without:

out: I have been in a moderate large Room, where there have been but two Ladies, who had not Space enough to move without lifting up their Petticoats higher than their Grandmothers would have thought decent: I believe every one has observ'd to what Pains a Lady is put, to reduce that wide extended Petticoat to the narrow Limits of a Chair or a Chariot: But let her manage her getting in or out ever so skilfully or modestly, yet, she makes but a very odd grotesque Figure with her Petticoats standing up half way the Glasses, and her Head just peeping out above them. However, as by Women of Quality some greater Liberties will be taken than is any Way consistent for private Persons to attempt, I wou'd desire my fair Countrywomen, who have no Chairs or Chariots, to reduce the exorbitant Extent of their Petticoat when they walk in publick Places: But it were to be wish'd, that the Sex in general wou'd introduce a more reasonable Fashion for Coats, and confine them within the Bounds of Decency and Moderation. I know no other Argument should sooner prevail with them, than to acquaint them it is a Mode very disagreeable to the Men in general, as it is in particular to

Your humble Servant,
SOPHRONIUS.

Common Sense, Feb. 7. N^o 209.

This Paper contains a very long Letter from a Freeholder of Devon to a Member of the H. of C. who sent him a Pamphlet, entitled, A Letter to a Member of Parliament, &c. Of which we shall give but an Extract or two, as this Pamphlet has been already pretty largely consider'd, in our Magazine for Jan. last, p. 19, 20, 21; 25—30.

YOUR Letter-Writer begins with making a Distinction be-

tween *Instructing* and *Informing*, and professes to follow the latter Method only, and then proceeds to give his Reasons against Instructing.

His first Argument is, because Members are not Deputies; page 3.

A 'The Deputies from the *Dutch* Provinces are by no Means to be compared with our Members of Parliament, for this plain and short Reason: That the Government of our Neighbours is a Democracy, whereas hitherto ours is not so.'

B This Argument will conclude otherwise than he intends it. If the Members of the H. of C. be really Deputies of the People, they may be instructed: And if the H. of C. be a Democracy, the Members thereof are real Deputies. It is said, by those who have described the Excellency of our Constitution, that it contains the three noted Species of Government, *viz.* Monarchy in the King, Aristocracy in Lords, and Democracy in Commons. And therefore, if the King and the H. of Lords be not Deputies of the People, the Members of the H. of C. must be, else we lose that Democracy, which makes one Part of our excellent Constitution.

E Besides, p. 33, he says, 'It is not so much out of Respect to the Crown, as out of Regard to their own Ease and Benefit, that the People have left the executive Part of the Government to the King.' What is this but, in other Words, saying, that the King himself is but a Deputy of the People? He, that can thus speak of the King, cannot justly be offended to hear the Members of the H. of C. called the Deputies of the People.

G With regard to the Word *Attorney*: If he understood the original Meaning of it, he would not call it new, or think it improperly applied to a Member of the H. of C. Indeed

Need he takes his Idea of it from the modern Practitioners in our Courts of Law, which renders the Word despicable: But it was not so in its Original, which is *Saxon*.

In the Times of the *Saxons* the Freemen, in every Shire, met twice a Year, under the Presidency of the Shire-Reave, or Sheriff: This Meeting was called *the Sheriff's Torn*. In this Court, the Freemen redressed Grievances, elected Officers, and heard Causes: They were a County Parliament: Not unlike the H. of Lords at this Day, which, by the way, is the most antient Court in the Kingdom. By Degrees the Freemen declined giving their personal Attendance, and got others to appear in their Stead, as thus: A Freeman, who attended, carried with him the Proxies of such Freemen, his Friends, as could not attend, and these Proxies were allow'd to be good Votes. The very same is now practised in the H. of Lords. He who went to the Sheriff's *Torn*, was said, according to the old *Saxon*, to go at the *Torn*: Hence came the Word *Attorney*: And it signified one who went to the *Torn* for others, carrying with him a Power to vote for those, that employ'd him.

Such being the antient Attorney, I cannot see any Inconsistency in supposing that his Master, who staid at home, should direct him how to dispose of his Vote, and, in Case of Non-compliance, threaten that he should not be his Attorney again.

If the H. of C. be built on the Model of the antient *Torns*, as I take it to be, it will not be confounding of Notions, nor using new Terms, to call our Representatives our *Attornies*: Nor will there be any Inconsistencies in giving them Instructions.

The Design of the Place-Bill, is to guard against the Incroachment

of the Crown, by the Use that is made of venal Boroughs. And, this being the Design of the Bill, the true Meaning of the Freeholders, when they give Instructions about a Place-Bill, is not to disable themselves, but to disable these venal Boroughs from chusing Placemen. If you think I am mistaken, make the Experiment. Let the M——r, so much boasted of by your Letter Writer, consent that the Bill shall pass, with this Amendment, *viz.* That no Clerk in an Office, and no subaltern Officer shall be capable of being elected in any Borough in Great Britain: Do but thus tie up the Hands of the Borough Electors, and, I am persuaded, the Freeholders will desire no more. The Counties and the great Towns will be still open for the minor Placemen: And, if one of them should be chosen for each County, and two for the City of London, there will be a fair Parcel of them in the House; and then we shall not want those in the Senate conversant in Business, which, p. 24, he says, is a mighty Advantage to a Senator. If the Minority will oppose this Amendment, I shall conclude them to be, what your Letter Writer calls them, p. 7, 'Men who, under Pretence of promoting a Place-Bill, aim at altering, if not subverting our Constitution.'

He says, 'That Members of Parliament receiving Salaries in Right of their Places, bestow'd upon them by a King in the Interest of his People, is the same Thing, as their anciently receiving Wages from their Constituents.' In order to make these two Things the same, or equivalent, even in his Meaning, these Rules must be observed: 1. That every Member of Parliament have a Place, with a Salary annexed. 2. That Knights of Shires have Places of double the Value of the

Places of Burgesses. 3. That these Places with Salaries annexed be continued to them no longer than the Session of Parliament. If all these Rules be not strictly observed, Salaries and Wages will not be the same Thing, tho' the Places be bestow'd by a King, not only in the Interest, but also a Darling of the People. I fancy his Friends in the Majority will not thank him for such a Disposition of Places.

But if all these Rules were observed, yet still there will be a wide Difference between Wages and Salaries, even according to his own Doctrine. For, tho' he will not allow Members of Parliament to be either Deputies, or Attornies, yet he admits them to be Representatives: And 'that the People have 'reserved to themselves the Power 'of accusing, by these their Representatives, such Ministers as, 'by abusing their Power, render the 'Government grievous to the People, p. 33.' This being the Case according to his own stating, judge whether Salaries be the same with Wages. Wages are to be paid by the People to their Representatives, who are to be the Party accusing; Salaries are given by the Crown to its Ministers, who are to be the Party accused: If therefore the Accuser and Accused be different Parties, Wages and Salaries must be different Things; so widely different, that Salaries to Members of Parliament must, in their very Nature, destroy the Power of accusing by our Representatives. For if the Majority of the House of Commons be Placemen, let them render the Government never so grievous, it will be impossible for the People to accuse them, by their Representatives. This being the necessary Consequence of such a Majority, it behoves the People, if they desire to be free from Oppression, or to call their Oppressors to Account, to

be very cautious how they chuse a Placeman to be their Representative.

Craftsman, Feb. 7. N^o 762.

A To the Author of a Letter to a Member of Parliament, concerning the present State of Affairs, &c.

Reverend Sir,

SO I will call you; tho' you are very unworthy of that Stile and Character. I will not take upon me to assert, whether you dress in *Black, Red, or Blue*: But as it is generally supposed, that you dress in *Black*, I will treat you accordingly, whether you are an old *Ciceronian Priest*, of the *Academick Stamp*, or a modern *HACKNEY Parson*. (See p. 19.)

I intirely agree with you, that there are certain favourite Expressions, by which not only Criticks, but even common Readers may distinguish the Writings of an Author, tho' they are not honour'd with his Name. But as you are talking about *Gentlemen in the Clouds*, and produce no other Proof than general Assertions, my Assertion is as good as yours, and therefore I do not only assert, but solemnly declare, that if I can guess the Gentleman, at whom you seem to glance in your spiritual Libel, he was so far from having any Concern in the *Craftsman*, against which your Reverence fulminates, that I do not know to this Day, whether he ever read a single Line of it. (See p. 27.)

Without any farther Preface, let us just cast our Eyes upon your political Preachment, and make a few cursory Remarks upon it.

As to the Peoples Right of instructing their Representatives, I shall be very brief, because you have not the Assurance to deny, "that, in certain extraordinary Cases, the Members

Members of the House of Commons might have Recourse to their Constituents for Information."

This is at once, in a Manner, confessing what so much pedantick Sophistry hath been employed to conceal; for surely the Man, who acknowledges that a *Representative*, upon an extraordinary Occasion, and such I take the present to be, may recur to his *Constituents* for *Information*, cannot say with any Colour of Reason, but the *Constituent* may offer Advice, in his Turn, to his *Representative*, without being called upon; since if *Information* is necessary for the Good of the Publick, is it of any Consequence, whether it is ask'd, or given without asking? And if the *Constituents* informs his *Representative* under what Grievances he apprehends the Nation to labour, and he will not concur in a proper Method of redressing them, what Reason can the *Representative* have to expect his *Constituent's* Favour and Interest at a future Election? No-body, I think, hath ever said, that *Instructions* carry any legal Compulsion; yet surely every *Elector* hath a Right to vote for what *Representative* he pleases.

With regard to the different Periods, when the *Electors* have thought fit to instruct their *Members*, you allow there are sufficient Evidences of a *Claim*, which I call a *Right*, and as such, the *People* have exercised it to their Advantage. It is fresh in every Body's Memory, how much it contributed to the Destruction of that execrable scheme, for imposing a *General Excise* upon us; and we have Reason to hope, that it may prove equally serviceable to the *People*, upon some future Occasions.

I cannot pass over your following wise Observation without some Notice, tho' it seems a little mysterious to me.

"It is not impossible, quoth you,

that in some future Age there may arise *Ministers* as ambitious, and as great Enemies to the *People*, as some that have lived in Times past. If these should, as no Doubt they would, meet with a vigorous Opposition to their Measures in the *House of Commons*, what a terrible Use might they make of this Doctrine of *instructing Members*? By the Help of this, they might screen themselves from the *Representatives of the People* behind the *People* themselves."

B One would be apt to think, Sir, that you are a very great *Conjurer*, and understand *Divination* as well as *Divinity*, properly so call'd amongst us; or else how could you venture to foretel, that there may happen to arise *bad Ministers* hereafter, as well as formerly? This is a Prediction, which could come from no Pen, but that of a new Doctor *Partridge*, or Mother *Shipton*. — But really, Sir, it is a very odd Case to suppose the *free and independent Representatives of the People* to be on one Side, and the *Minister* and the *People* themselves to be on the other. But as I am willing to allow my learned *Antagonist* the whole Scope of his Argument, we will suppose even this Case; and then what can be the Consequence? Surely nothing more than *dissolving the Parliament*; for if the *Minister* should have the *People* enough at his Disposal to make them *instruct*, he cannot want Means to prevail upon them to *elect*; and why a *bad Minister* should keep an *House of Commons* on Foot, for no other Reason but to quarrel with him, is a Policy much beyond the Reach of my shallow Comprehension.

But what is all this to the present Purpose? Great Numbers of our *British Electors* have already instructed their *Representatives*, according to their ancient Right and Practice, to promote and concur in a *Bill*, which they apprehend to be absolutely

solutely necessary for the Preservation of *their Liberties*. It hath been twice read in *one House*, and I humbly hope will be soon pass'd into a Law.—But let us see what you have to say upon this *stale Topick*, which hath been fully explain'd a thousand Times over.

After reciting the Paragraph, in which I made the Distinction between *Prerogative* and *ministerial Influence*, instead of endeavouring to make us sensible, how little Notice is due to this Clamour about *ministerial Influence*, as you promised to do, you take up four Pages to prove the Truth of it, and to shew how it came about; for you expressly say, “that if Regard to the Government did not direct an *Administration*, in such Emergences, *Principles of Self-Preservation* would. The *Crown*, at that Time, (meaning K. William's Reign) had lost the *Powers*, by which it was accusom'd to promote its *Measures*, and *secure its Servants*, and therefore it was obliged to stoop to the *only Means of Safety*, that were left.”

Here, Sir, you confess the only Point in Dispute, which is the Practice of *ministerial Influence*; and if we ask, who are to be the Judges when it ought to be employed, and how far it is to be carried; the Answer, no Doubt, will be, the *Minister*, who practises it out of a *Principle of Self-Preservation*, and the *Persons*, who are tempted by it to act contrary to what they would otherwise do.—But prithee, *Doctor*, in what Part of Holy Writ doest thou find any Authority for promoting even *good Measures*, or securing *good Ministers*, by *corrupt Means*? Wilt thou justify *doing Evil that Good may come of it*, in one Case; or produce the Parable of the *unjust Steward*, in the other Case?

“It is charged upon me, says your Reverence, as an Instance either of *Weakness*, or *Insincerity*, that I

should object against the *Place-Bill*, as an Invasion on the *People's Liberty*; and yet all that I advanced is granted; for it could not be denied; and now to shew, that if I am a *Blockhead*, I am a *Blockhead of some Reading*, I will discover whence I had this Notion, that disqualifying any Person from serving *his Country* (you should have said a *Minister*) in Parliament, is a great Trespass on the Right of the *People*, and extremely dangerous to our *Constitution*.”—Here you bring in your old trumpety Observations on Lord Coke; upon which I shall not trouble my Readers, but rather ask their Pardon for having already troubled them so much, and leave them to judge, whether you are an *ignorant Blockhead*, or a *Blockhead of some Reading*; for it is quite indifferent to,

Reverend Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servant,
CAL. D'ANVERS.

D Common Sense of the 14th has some Remarks on the same Author's second Pamphlet; but as we believe our Readers have already had enough on this Subject, we pass it by.

Universal Spectator, Feb. 7. N° 644.

E Of Modern POLITENESS.

N O Censure has been more justly made on this Nation, than on the absurd Imitation which the People of both Sexes shew, to arrive at the Delicateness of the Mode and the Manners of the *French*; and this Folly has, within a Quarter of a Century, prevail'd so far, that the old plain manly Frankness of a *Free Briton*, is almost polish'd away into the sycophant Flattery and obsequious Slavery of a *Frenchman*.

G It is undeniable, that the People of *England* are the most unhappy Imitators of any in the World; for the Imperfections and Vices only glare

glare before their Eyes, and catch the Possession of their Heart: And hence it is that most of our modern fine Gentlemen and Ladies have more *Politeness* than their Ancestors, but less *good Sense* or *good Manners*. What at present generally passes under the Name of *good Breeding*, is either a mean Servility to a Superior, or a false deceitful Appearance to an Equal; in the same Manner is the Sense of being polite corrupted: It is not to be learned, humane, with all the amiable Endowments, to gain an honourable Esteem: but by *Politeness* we must now understand, Luxury and Extravagance.

I believe it is too *flagrant* a Truth to be contradicted, that on this *false Notion* of appearing polite *Luxury* and *Extravagance* reign to the Height in every Rank of Men, and are equally visible in every Class of Women. This Degeneracy is not owing to any natural Cause; *Englishmen* are not of themselves bias'd to *Luxury*, nor our Women to *Extravagance*: Were the Customs practis'd only which were of *British* Growth, we should soon again see one Sex industrious and brave, the other frugal and chaste. But this Alteration of our Manners is owing to the *Follies* and *Vices*, which our People of Fashion too generally contract in polite slavish Countries, where the Policy of arbitrary Government indulges them, and having there gain'd what they call a refin'd Improvement in Life, transfer into this Island their exotic Corruption to debauch the Minds of their Countrymen, who are but too ready to approve of any Thing that has the Appearance of Novelty: Thus, by Imitation, *Luxury* and *Extravagance* run thro' every Order.

But what is this *Luxury* and *Extravagance* among the Persons of the first Rank? *Show*, *Equipage*, *Pomp*, *Feasts*, *Balls*, and ten thousand other

private Articles. A modern Supper in the *Haymarket* given to those, who in Reality neither value *that* nor the *Donor*, is of more Expence than two Months open *House-keeping* would be at a *Country Seat*: Perhaps none of the Ancestors of the Master of the *Treat* laid out a tenth Part of the Money in any Entertainment they ever gave; but was not an open *hospitable English Table*, fill'd with a Company of *Friends*, *Neighbours*, and *Tenants*, of more Honour to his Ancestors, of more Good to his Country, more Service to the Poor, than all the *expensive Voluptuousness* which *H—d—g—r* could invent to *kill* the Space of *two* or *three* Hours Time? One of these midnight Meals raises an Ambition in another to be at least equally polite; and *Luxury*, in the Height of Excess, becomes the Proof of a Taste for the Elegancies of Life.

From the same weak Ambition of endeavouring to vie and rival one another in the unnecessary Superfluities, Baubles and Playthings of the World, the Extravagance of this Age actuates People of all Conditions, from the *Peer* to the *Artizan*, and they both become poor to appear splendid.

From what I have said, I would not be understood to be an Advocate for an *unbecoming* and *ungenerous Parsimony*, but wou'd have all my Countrymen, according to their Fortunes, enjoy those Indulgencies, which their Rank of Birth and Estates may allow, and which as the Rewards of their Industry they may justly take: But, for a *Nobleman* to be as lavish as if he had the Revenue of his *Prince*, or a *Tradesman* as if he had the Estate of a *Peer*, must introduce such a Corruption of *Luxury* and *Expence*, as would render the most free and brave People *Sycophants* and *Slaves*. It wou'd be foreign from my Design, or I could very easily shew how many

many flourishing States and Empires have been ruin'd by their People becoming too polite: I must heartily wish therefore, that the Britons may rather be esteem'd *inelegant, rough, hardy, rich and free*, than politely degenerate into *elegant Bankrupts and refin'd Slaves*.

Weekly Miscellany, Feb. 7. N° 424.

From the Essay on HONOUR.

Forgiveness of Injuries, and a merciful Disposition towards those that have injur'd us, is an infallible Mark of a great and noble Mind, and is our indispensable Duty, as reasonable Creatures, but more so as Christians.

I know not any Instance in modern Story so applicable to this Point, as that in the Life of Gasten Marquis de Renty. This illustrious Nobleman was a Soldier and a Christian, and had a peculiar Felicity in reconciling the seeming Opposition betwixt the two different Characters. He had a Command in the French Army, and had the Misfortune to receive a Challenge from a Person of Distinction, in the same Service. The Marquis returned Answer by the Person that brought the Challenge, that he was ready to convince the Gentleman that he was in the wrong, and if he could not satisfy him, he was ready to ask his Pardon. The other not satisfied with this Answer, insisted upon his meeting him with his Sword; to which he sent this Answer, *That he was resolved not to do it, since God and the King had forbidden it; otherwise he would have him know that all the Endeavours he had used to pacify him did not proceed from any Fear of him, but of Almighty God, and his Displeasure; that he should go every Day about his usual Business, and if he did assault him, he would make him repent it.* The angry Man, not able to provoke him to a Duel, and

meeting him one Day by chance, drew his Sword, and attacked him, who wounded and disarmed both him and his Second, with the Assistance of a Servant that attended him; but then did this truly Christian Nobleman show the Difference betwixt a brutish and Christian Courage, for he led them to his Tent, refreshed them with Wine and Cordials, caused their Wounds to be dress'd, and their Swords to be restored to them, and dismissed them with Christian and friendly Advice, and was never heard to mention the Affair afterwards to his nearest Friends. It was a usual Saying of his, *That there was more true Courage and Generosity in bearing and forgiving an Injury for the Love of God, than in requiting it with another; in suffering rather than revenging, because the Thing was much more difficult: That Bulls and Bears had Courage enough, but it was a brutish Courage, whereas ours should be such as should become reasonable Creatures and Christians.*

Daily Gazetteer, N° 1755.

THIS Paper is an Address to the Electors of Great Britain upon the Charge of Corruption, in which, among other Things, the Writer says:

E Here then is to be consider'd, what Kind of Proof will be necessary to evince a Charge of so heinous a Nature; for Corruption being in its own Nature secret, it will be in vain to look for the Evidences of it in its first Applications; but they will be discovered in its Consequences.

For to suppose Corruption made use of for honest Purposes, and to promote a just and wise Administration, would, no doubt, be ridiculed by all Men as a Solecism in Practice, and a most idle Chimera; it is therefore an ill Management of Affairs only that can prove Corruption in a State; and this will arise

Craftsman, Feb. 14. N^o 763.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

rise from the principal Posts in the Army, in the Navy, and all publick Offices being filled with Men incapable of the Employment allotted to them, which will always be the Case where Corruption prevails in a State.

If then these Effects of Corruption are visible in our State, the Charge thereof will be undoubtedly evinced; but if none of these Effects are apparent, if our Fleets and our Armies were never commanded by Officers of greater Skill or greater Bravery; if the Governors of our Church were never more learned, nor of more conspicuous Moderation; if the Law had never a fairer or a freer Course than it has now, and the Seats of Justice were never filled with Judges of greater Knowledge or more unquestioned Integrity; if in the Execution of the Laws of the Revenue there never was less Arbitrariness, nor Commissioners more disposed to consult the Ease of the Subjects; if so indisputable is the Merit of the Gentlemen who conduct our Fleets and command our Armies, who preside in the Government of our Church, or who manage our Revenues and dispense our Laws, that they have no Competitors, who in the Opinion of the World are of greater Abilities, or of more unsuspected Integrity; if all this is true, and the Enemies of the Ministry are defyd to shew the contrary, how can such a State be said to be corrupt?

If the Reasoning *a priori* holds good, the Argument *a posteriori* is equally conclusive; and hence it is that our domestick Enemies stand self-confuted in all their Charges of Corruption on the present Government; for if the Inference from a corrupted State is unfit Officers in every Post of Government, the ablest Officers in every Post of Government must demonstrate a State not deprav'd.

A S I am grown old, and cannot expect to live much longer, I lately made a thorough Scrutiny into all my Papers, and found a Manuscript, which for many Years I had misl'd and thought lost, having, thro' the Treachery of a declining Memory, forgot where I had most carefully deposited it.

B I am surprized, that so curious and diligent an Historian as Sir Paul Ricaut should pass over in Silence this Manuscript; since he mentions the Interview, at which Tradition says it was pronounced; for tho' he had not believed it to be a genuine Speech of the devout Santone *Hexrewi*, it is a Performance, which contains such excellent Matter, and is of such undoubted Antiquity, that, in my Opinion, few Things which he hath mentioned, so well deserved his Notice. I send it you therefore, not as a *political*, but a *moral Piece*, and what every reasonable and virtuous Man may reduce to the Practice of private Life.

E But before I say any Thing more of the Manuscript, give me Leave to make a short Quotation from Sir Paul Ricaut, with relation to the Person to whom it is ascribed.

F " * In the Reign of *Orcanes II.* King of the *Turks*, (says he) there lived in *Prusa*, then the regal Seat, a famous Santone, called *Hexrewi*, who used to walk up and down, and, as an Act of Charity, to buy the Livers and Lights of Beasts to feed *Cats* and *Dogs*. He professed *Poverty* and *severe Mortification*, with Tears and Sighs, which he acted with so much Fervency, that the Angels leaving Heaven came down to be Witnesses of his holy Penance; the Fame of which moved Sultan *Orcanes* to discourse with him, and to know the Story of his past Life; which

* Ricaut's History of the Ottoman Empire, Cap. 29. Edit. 8vo.

which he, smiling, began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King, derived from the Line of *Mabomet*; and had compass'd with his Arms the River *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*; had govern'd Provinces with his Sword and Sceptre; had been triumphantly adorn'd with precious Stones and glittering Arms; and had made the World tremble at the very Mention of his Name. But at last, considering the Vanity of this World, he resolv'd on a solitary Life, and to renounce all the Follies and small Satisfaction of Riches and empty Honours, &c."

At this Interview, the Contents of the following Paper were delivered by *Hexreui* to *Orcanes*; for whose Use it was compos'd. It was given me in the Year 1675, by a * *Sheigh* of the Order of *Hexreui*, who assured me, that he had transcribed it from the ancient Manuscript, then deposited in a † *Teke* of the same Order. As I had begun the Translation 60 Years ago, I wish I had compleated it; whilst the *Eastern* Languages were fresh in my Memory, and when the Vigour of my Age might have done more Justice to the Original. However, I have done my best, and hope there will be still Beauties sufficient to gain my Pardon from the Publick.

I am, SIR, &c.

NESTOR.

The MANUSCRIPT.

O *ORCANES* loveth his People. He cherisheth them. He heareth their Complaints. He relieveth their Distresses.

O King, live for ever! — Despise not the Advice of the Humble, nor think any too contemptible to do thee Hurt; for a Wren may frighten the Steed, which the King rideth on, and the Cackling of Geese saved a mighty State.

Give not Utterance to thine Anger; but when thy Soul is vexed even unto Rage, retire to thy Chamber and meditate; for shalt thou force *wise Men* from thy Presence; or shalt thou suffer the Fool to boast that he hath seen the King in Wrath?

Be not provoked to punish Offences against thine own Person; for that will betray Revenge, beneath the Greatness of thy Majesty.

Offences against thy Laws let thy Laws punish. But pronounce not thou the Sentence, nor say unto the Judges, Do thus.

Vex not the Land with many Laws; for like many Masters few will be regarded, and they will multiply Crimes upon thy People.

Suffer not thine Ears to be disgraced by private Scandal; for it is sufficient not to honour those, of whom thou knowest no Good.

If the mighty Men of thy Kingdom, by the Strength of thy Power, oppress thy People, let their Palaces be razed, their Families humbled, and their Carcasses placed upon the highest Pine-Trees in thy Forest, as a Prey to the Birds of the Air; for they have dishonour'd the King, in the Sight of his People.

Suffer not a Flatterer to abide in thy Presence; but let the Voice of thy People be the Mirror, in which thou beholdest the Majesty of thy sublime Person.

Lend not thine Ear only to the Voice of one Counsellor; for so shall another Man be more honour'd in the King's House than the King himself. Then, tho' seated on thy Throne, with a Crown of Rubies on thy Head, and a Cloth of Gold beneath thy Feet; tho' thou art arrayed in Purple, and in the Midst of thy Guards; thou wilt be a Prisoner; in thine own House wilt thou be a Prisoner; for who dare to speak against the Man, whom the King so favoureth? Thou wilt be

* *A Preacher.*

† *Or Turkish Monastery.*

be a Stranger to what passeth under thine own Roof. Who then shall guard thy Realms afar off? Thus will the Character of thy Wisdom be lessen'd through the Land; and moreover, thou may'st by one Man be betray'd into the Hands of thy A most dreadful Foe.

Cast off thy Royal Robes, and secretly visit the remote Corners of thy great City. There wilt thou hear thy Government spoke freely of, and the Names of thy Counsellors talk'd over.

The King is wise, and his Daughters are beautiful. They are dress'd in sumptuous Attire. — Garments of Silver and Garments of Gold are they array'd in, wrought in the finest Needle-work; by their own Hands are they wrought, and by the Maidens that attend them. The Work of Strangers do they cast from them.

The Officers of the King's Household are mighty Men; but the People are his strong Pillars.

Hearken, O ye Princes of the D Earth.

You, who rule in the Hearts of your People, are placed upon the Backs of strong Elephants; but the King, who turneth the Labour of his People to Scorn, rideth upon the Horn of an Unicorn.

The Lion doth roar, and the Desert doth tremble at the Echo thereof. But a wise King ruleth with Gentleness and Mercy.

In Time of Plenty, suffer thy People to lay up against a Time of Need; for if the Granaries of thy F People are empty, how shall the King's Armies be furnished?

A stately Palace is beautiful to behold; but a warm Cottage sheweth the Mightiness of thy Government.

When thy People are afflicted G with any sore Visitation, humble thyself to the East. Let not the Pleasures of the Court triumph over

the Lamentations of the Poor. Suffer not the Sound of the Timbrel, or the Lute, the Sackbut, or the Dulcimer, to touch thine Ear; for thy People mourn. Let not Singing-Men or Singing-Women enter the Gates of thy Palace; for thy People weep. Change not thy Rayment, nor let Mirth shine upon thy Countenance, till the Visitation of thy People is passed over.

Command that the Measures of Oil and the Measures of Corn, B which thy Servants receive from the Hands of thy People, be diminished.

Suffer not the Collectors of thy Tribute to oppress thy People; nor suffer thy great Men to fill their own Granaries, whilst the People C lacketh.

Like Lightning upon a ripe Harvest, or like Locusts upon the Fruit-Trees, so are Tax-gatherers upon the Substance of a People.

Suffer not a Stranger to carry thy People into Bondage, nor part with the Realms of thy Fathers to him that threateneth; for high Words cause Mockery, but the Sword of Justice will prevail. Thine Ox, or thine Ass, freely may'st thou bestow; but the People are not thine to give.

E When thou warrest, call thy wise Men together to counsel thee; and let thy valiant Men lead forth thy Hosts to Battle.

Suffer not a Fool in thy Council, nor let a Coward dwell in thy Tents. For Wisdom cometh upon a Fool as a Rainbow upon a Cloud. It soon passeth over, and leaveth no Impression behind: And the Heart of a Coward will tremble at the Sound of a Trumpet. The Clangour of thine own Arms will affright him, and with his Cries will he confound thy brave Men.

Suffer not thy Soldiers to perish for Want; for in Battle may'st thou lose many of thy People.

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Take

Take not useleſs Men into thy Tents; for they will bring a Scarcity upon thy ſtout Men, and leave the Harveſt unreaꝑ'd.

Whiſt thine Enemy is ſtiff-necked, let him feel the Strength of thine Arm. But if he humbleth himſelf, let him raiſe unto thee a ſtrong Tower of Defence for the Treſpaſs, which he hath done againſt thee, and againſt thy People, and withdraw thine Army from the Field.

So ſhall thy People bleſs thee, and ſhall ſay that the King loveth his People, and cheriſheth them; he puniſheth thoſe, who oppreſs them; he regardeth their Lives, and goeth to Battle only for their Defence.

Common Senſe, Feb. 21. N^o 211.

The noble Science of QUIBBLING.

IT is never enough to be lamented, that Arts and Sciences ſhould be quite out of Favour with our great Man. It hath been ſaid of Cardinal *Wolſey*, that, being learned himſelf, he was an Encourager of Learning, of which that noble Foundation he eſtabliſh'd at *Oxford* is a laſting Monument. Look round the World, and you ſhall generally ſee Men retain a Benevolence for thoſe Arts in which they themſelves excelled; this gives me to hope, that altho' none of the Learned have yet taſted of our great Man's Liberality, yet the Time is approaching, when that Complaint will ceaſe, and I expect ſhortly to ſee a generous Donation made by him, out of the ſmall Remains of that immense Eſtate, which he has ſpent in the Service of his Country, towards erecting a College for the Study of the noble Science of Quibbling, a Science in which he himſelf hath made ſo conſpicuous a Figure; nor do I at all doubt, from his eſtabliſh'd Character for Gene-

roſity, but that a ſufficient Proviſion will be made for a Profeſſor and a certain Number of Fellows, that all the great Employments, not only in the State, but in the Church, may be fill'd with Perſons duly qualified; I mean ſuch as ſhall receive the firſt Tinctures of their Education in this College: Nay, if Providence ſhould ſpare him a little longer, I don't deſpair, but Quibbling will be allow'd to be the beſt Qualification for a high Command in the Army.

It is to this Art we owe the Juſtification of his excellent Measures; —and tho' I admire what has been ſaid from Time to Time of his paciſick Measures, I read, with a greater Degree of Wonder, the Defence of his moſt glorious Conduct of the preſent War.

How happy it is for this Nation, that he will ſuffer no other Man to adviſe or direct in any Part of Government! — Methinks he makes the ſame Figure with *Jupiter* in ſome ancient Poem; he thunders, he lightens, he commands the Heavens with a Nod, while his Brother Gods look like his Footmen, and are brought upon the Stage only to go on his Errands and execute his Orders: But when I conſider him, as ſingly directing the Operations of War, I can't help perſuading myſelf, but that Mr. *Addiſon*, by a Spirit of Prophecy, had him in his Eye in the following fine Simile, in his Poem of the *Campaign*:

So when an angel, by divine command,
With riſing tempeſts ſhakes a guilty land,

Calm and ſerene he drives the furious blaſt:
And, pleas'd th' Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the ſtorm.
To ſpeak in humble Proſe: Who can answer what might have been the Conſequence had any other Perſon thought himſelf wiſe enough to have interpoſed his Advice; perhaps the Nation would neither have had the Fleet fitted out, nor Half the Troops rais'd, under Pretence, that they muſt be unneceſſary againſt

gainst so weak a Foe as the *Spaniards*. — Let these People say what they will, Fleets and Armies are glorious Things, whether they are made use of or not; and must give the World a high Idea of our Politics and Riches; foreign Nations **A** may make us the same Compliment which *Ben Johnson* made to a Lord Mayor. — My Lord, (says he) *when I consider your Wisdom, I admire your great Wealth; and when I consider your Wealth, I admire your great Wisdom.* — It does not follow, that because we are strong and mighty, we must run about the World like *Hercules* with his Club, to knock People's Brains out.

'Tis excellent to have a giant's strength,
But barbarous to use it like a giant.

The *Spaniards* cannot accuse us of **C** making an unmerciful Use of our superior Power; to use the Words of one of our ministerial Hacks, we have acted according to the Dictates of a cool Resentment; — it seems the Nature of their Distemper required gentle Physick: The *Spaniards* were a little out of Order in their Heads, and our wise and excellent **M**——r was to be their Doctor: I do not doubt, but the whole World will allow, that he is as fit for a Doctor as a Statesman. I am only sorry, since the People **E** of *England* were to pay for the Cure, that the Medicines were made so expensive.

But let us not omit that Part of our great Man's Defence which hath been repeated over and over, and cuts short all Objections against his past or his future Conduct. — If the wise Measures that have been taken have not come up to the Expectations of the World, whose Fault is it? They have answer'd that Question already; it is the Fault of the Opposition.

The **M**——, it seems, hath had Armies and Fleets, and Supplies, and Votes of Credit; every Thing he could wish, and every Thing he

could ask, hath been granted, in order to strengthen his Hands, and enable him to put a speedy End to the War; by all which he hath been embarrass'd, weaken'd, and all his Measures clog'd. How comes **A** this to pass? The wicked Opposition contriv'd it all, — they strengthen'd his Hands, to ruin his Measures, and gave him every Thing on Purpose to expose and to shame him. — Altho' this be the Sense of Ministerial Reasons put into plain **B** *English*, it hath not had that Weight with the Publick which it deserves; yet there may be something in it for all that; for I have been inform'd, that about a Year ago, when new Regiments were raising every Day, one of the Opposition **C** was heard to say, — *Let him have Rope enough, and he'll hang himself,* — meaning that sublime Person who sits in the *Whirlwind* and directs the Storm.

His Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, (I don't mean the present) **D** was thought to have understood something of the Art of War. — While he was placed at the Head of the Army, it was judg'd necessary, from Time to Time, to augment the Quota of Troops, which of Consequence required a larger **E** Expence; this was agreed to by Parliament, tho' not without some Opposition. I need not repeat the terrible Consequences: He had a Giant's Strength, he used it barbarously like a Giant. — Had he been as wise as some have been **F** since, and acted according to the Dictates of a cool Resentment, he might have march'd the Army a little about the Country for Shew and Parade, wasted all the Magazines, spent the Nation an immense Sum of Money, and have told his **G** abused Country, if he had done nothing, it was owing to the Opposition; — that those who censur'd his Conduct, were instigated by Malice
M 2 and

and Disappointment, and wanted his Employment.

After so signal a Trial of his Skill and Conduct, how pleasant it would have been to have seen a Mob of Placemen, put in by himself, crying him up, as the greatest Captain A the World ever saw: But in those Days it was otherwise,—Fleets and Armies could then act abroad in Spight of the Opposition at home; Money was really the Sinews of War, and all the Supplies granted were not able to defeat the Measures, or expose the Want of Abilities of the M—rs.—But what Answer shall we make to such Reasons as are now thrown in our Faces? I think we must say, with the Poet,

Never did base and rotten policy
Cover its workings with such lame excuse.

Craftsman, Feb. 21. N° 764.

The following LETTER (says Mr. D'Anvers) from an unknown Correspondent came so late, that it was impossible to publish it last Saturday. D But as it contains only Matter of general INSTRUCTION, without any particular Application, I shall submit it to the Judgment of my Readers this Week.

S I R,

IT is allow'd by all Authors of common Sense, that Government was instituted for the Good of the Governed; that the People, under all Governments, have a Right to examine, whether they are wisely and honestly govern'd. Under free Governments, they have a Power to exercise that Right with Safety. By our own Constitution, such an Examination is not only a just Right, but a Duty incumbent on the People, as they form the third Part of the Legislature, by their Representatives. But it is impossible for the People to make a proper Choice of their Representatives, at a new Election, without a strict Enquiry into the

Conduct of them, during the Term of their preceding Deputation.

The only Way to make an adequate Judgment, on such Occasions, is to consider attentively both the Proportion of the Aids granted for the Support of the Government, and the Ways and Means by which they have been raised; but still more attentively to observe the Application of them, as well as to enquire whether the Commerce of the Nation hath been sufficiently protected and encouraged: In Time of Peace, whether Treaties and Negotiations have been wisely conducted, to secure the Continuance of it, against the dangerous Growth of any single Power to disturb it: In Time of War, whether the national Forces C have been vigorously employed: Whether any Opportunities have offer'd to distress the Enemy, in such a Manner as would have forced them to submit to equitable Terms:—Whether those Opportunities have been neglected or improved: If, on any of these Heads, just and reasonable Complaints have been made in Parliament, whether they have concurred to obtain Redress, or whether they have joined to support the Minister against them.

As it is therefore plain, that the E People have a Right to examine and judge of the Administration, both with respect to foreign and domestick Affairs; because, without such a Knowledge, they cannot make a proper Choice of Representatives; it is equally evident, that any private F Person may give his best Assistance to such an Enquiry, by setting the publick Transactions in a fair and true Light, which is a proper and valuable Use of the Liberty of the Press.

Whenever the People apply themselves seriously to Searches of this Nature, and are aided with proper Lights to see thro' the Glosses and ministerial Varnish, with which bad Actions

Actions are always colour'd, it must seldom happen, that the Choice would not fall upon Gentlemen of the most approved and distinguished Characters. Then must the Judgment of the *People* and *their Representatives* be always the same. In such a Situation, the *Ministry* would be wise and virtuous, or quickly reform'd and punish'd, if otherwise. But as past Experience convinces us, that *Elections of Members to Parliament* have not been at all Times heretofore made upon such disinterested Motives; so a prudential Caution may give us Reason to suspect, that they may be managed in the same Manner hereafter.

That *ministerial Influence*, by Means of *Places, Pensions, occasional Bounties, and Gratuities of various Kinds*, often prevailed both with the *Electors* and the *Elected*, in the Reign of *Q. Anne*, I believe will not be deny'd by either *Whig* or *Tory*; tho', perhaps, *each* will assign a different Period, when it is allowed to have prevailed.

That these Means of *ministerial Influence* are far from being decreased, since *that Reign*, I may venture to affirm, without fearing to be call'd upon for Proof; and how can we be assured, that they may not be employed in *some future general Election* so successfully, as to procure a *great Majority*, corruptly attach'd to the Interest of the *Minister*, for the Time being?

At whatever Time that Misfortune should happen, (which I hope never will) all Awe and Restraint upon the *Administration* would be taken away.—The *Minister* might act at Will, in full Confidence, that an Assembly of so favourable a Complexion would be more ready to justify, than to censure every Mismanagement.—Let it be supposed, in such Circumstances, that the general Voice *without Doors*, supported by the Concurrence of a great Number *within*, should declare their u-

nited Complaints of a long Series of Misconduct, both *abroad* and *at home*; the *Minister* would, perhaps, scornfully answer, that these are nothing but *factionous Clamours*; for all my *Measures* have been, from Time A to Time, approved by a *Majority*, consisting of my *very good and worthy Friends*.

It is very probable, that a Vindication of this Sort might not give intire Satisfaction to the *Complainants*. In this Case, nothing remains B to be done to obtain any Redress, but by humble Petitions to the *Throne*, or by strong and plain Representations in *Parliament*. In either Way, I fear, there would be found Difficulties almost insuperable. May not a *Minister* find Means C to rivet himself so fast in the Favour of the *best Prince*, as to render all Efforts against him fruitless? May not a *good Prince* be beset by the *Creatures of his Minister* in such a Manner, as hardly to be approached by any Body else? Will he not D be told by them, that all Clamours proceed from the factious Artifices of *Enemies to him*, as well as to *his Minister*? May they not be audacious enough to charge some Gentlemen with *Republicanism*, whom they dare not accuse of *Jacobitism*?

The only Method therefore left, is to attack him in *Parliament*; and that is to be done either by *Impeachment*, or an *Address of Parliament to remove him from the King's Councils*.

That *Ministers* have been formerly impeach'd, in the Fulness of their F Power, cannot be deny'd. But these Things happen'd in Times, when the *Crown* had no Means of influencing the *Representatives of the People* to differ from their general Sentiments. Many Impeachments of this Sort have been form'd only G upon the *publick Notoriety of Facts*, without any particular Evidence.—But we may be allow'd to observe, that the *Taxes and Debts*, since the *Revolution*,

Revolution, have created a *Power to the Crown*, which was unknown to former Ages, and far beyond what the highest Stretch of *Prerogative* could give it; a Power arising from the excessive Number of *lucrative Employments*, in the Collection and Distribution of *those Taxes and Debts*. That *this Power* hath been constantly growing, by the continual Increase of *Places*, and the great Enlargement of the *Civil-List*, is equally self-evident. — Hereafter therefore a *Prime and absolute Minister* may, by the prevailing Influence of *those Places*, and a corrupt Abuse of the *Civil List*, secure to himself a *great and firm Majority*, at all Times, and upon all Occasions.

In such a Situation, it would be little less than Madness to bring an *Impeachment*, upon the *publick Notoriety of Facts*, because the Call would be for *particular and legal Proof*. And as to *particular and legal Evidence*, may there not be very *grievous Abuses and Frauds*, generally believed and even known; may not *Bribery and Corruption* be practised, almost openly and above-board, in most Boroughs, tho' *legal and special Evidence* cannot be procured? Who can give that *legal Evidence* but the *Agents* concern'd? Are they like to give Evidence against a *Minister*, who may engross the Power of enriching and honouring them for their Services to him? Or suppose here and there one, who may have been privy to the *Minister's Crimes*, should be touch'd with a Remorse of Conscience, and incline to make a Discovery; would he dare to become Evidence upon Oath? Could he assure himself that *his Accomplices* would concur with him to testify the Truth? If they did not, might he not have just Reasons to apprehend a Prosecution against him for *Perjury*, which might terminate in his utter Ruin? Or if the Discovery was to be made

in *either House of Parliament*, whilst the *Minister's Power* was absolute and uncontrolable, could any other Vote be expected, in Times to come, but that it was a wicked and infamous Attempt against the Honour and Character of the *Minister*? — The first and certain Consequence would be the Loss of Employment under the *Crown*, and the Weight of every other Distress that could be laid upon him.

The only Way left, in this Case, is a *Motion for an Address to remove the Minister*, if any one hereafter should arrive at such an high Pitch of Power, and make a bad Use of it. — That may be done by the *Members of either House*, founded upon the Apparency of *publick Measures*, and the *Notoriety of his Power over them*. — It may not, perhaps, hereafter be thought imprudent to make *such a Motion*, tho' without Hopes of Success. — When *such a Motion* shall be made, at any future Time, it will be sufficient to shew, that the *Minister* had made Alliances with Nations of a natural Enmity to *England*; the certain and necessary Consequence of which was the Reduction of a *Power*, whose Interest must have made him a constant Friend to *England*; to shew the *Minister* persisted in *that unnatural Alliance*, till the Depression of the *friendly Power* was effected; that not only *England* but all *Europe* was in imminent Danger, flowing solely from the visible Consequences of *that Alliance*; to shew that a *neighbouring Port* had been open'd, contrary to the express Stipulations of a *solemn Treaty*, which might, in some Events, totally destroy the Commerce of the Kingdom; and if the Nation should happen to be in a *War*, at the Time of making *such a Motion*, to shew that *vast Armaments* had been made at an infinite Expence, without doing any real and substantial Service, which could be

be imputed to the *Minister's* Directions; that great Opportunities had been lost by unnecessary Delays; that at home *Frauds* were suspected in every Branch of Business, the *publick Treasure* improperly apply'd, for the Support of the *Minister's* Person; that the *Manufacturies* were starving, from the Decay of Trade, to the Ruin of the Countries where they were settled; I say, Mr. *D'Anvers*, if the Matter of such general Charges should ever appear notorious and undeniable, it would surely be sufficient to justify an *Address to remove the Person*, who was predominant in Power, during these Transactions.—It is very difficult to conceive that Measures of Consequence could be taken without the special Advice and Direction of the *Prime Minister*; but it would be impossible to deny that he had been guilty of Omission of his Duty, at least, for not opposing evil Measures, which the Authority in his Hands enabled him to have done with full Effect.

Besides, an Attempt to *remove a great Minister from his Post*, is widely different from an *Accusation*, in order to *punish him for his Crimes*. The latter should always be done by a *special Impeachment*, which ought to be supported by *clear and particular Evidence*: But an *Address to remove a principal Counsellor* may be justly founded upon a manifest bad Conduct of Affairs, either foreign or domestick. For every Man hath a Right to the Benefit of the *Law*, which secures him from Punishment, either in his *Fortune* or *Person*, without legal Proof of his Guilt: But no Man can claim a Right to be *Prime Minister*, nor consequently complain of Injury or Injustice done to him, if any Number of Persons qualify'd by their *Station* to offer their Opinion to his Majesty, should advise his Removal, without bringing *special Articles of Accusation* against him.—Thus far, at least, the

Chief in an Administration may be justly made answerable for every Branch of it.—We have a late Precedent, which carries that Matter much farther; I mean the Impeachment of the late Earl of *Oxford*, said to be drawn up by our present excellent Minister, by which that noble Lord was made criminally responsible for every Act of Government, tho' not within his own proper Department.

I am, SIR, &c.

B P. S. Since I finish'd my Letter, a Passage in Bishop *Burnet's* History, not foreign to the Purpose of it, came into my Head, which I will relate upon Memory.

The Author was told by Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, that in the Parliament of 1641, he had received Information of a Plot amongst the Officers, to put that Violence upon the *House of Commons*, which was afterwards committed. He solemnly charged *Cromwell* with the Design, and brought two Officers, who testified at the Bar that *Cromwell* had proposed it in a *Council of Officers*. When they withdrew, *Cromwell* fell upon his Knees, and pray'd to God, protesting his Innocence and Zeal for the Service of the Parliament. Then made a long and vehement Speech, with many Tears, by which he prevail'd so far upon his own Party, that they would not believe a Word of what was sworn against him; and *Grimstone* said, that if it had been moved to commit him and the two Officers to Prison, he verily believed it would have been carry'd.—So dangerous may it sometimes prove, and at all Times ineffectual, to bring a formal Charge against Persons in the Height of Power!

N. B. Several spurious Lists of Names have been handed about upon a late extraordinary Occasion, with which we shall not trouble our Readers; but shall give them a true Account of that Affair in its proper Place.

The

*The ROSE. An ODE. Written in the
Style and Manner of Anacreon.*

WHAT cruel hand, my sweetest rose,
So rashly could thy beauties treat?
Stranger, ask not; he that knows,
May the same sad treatment meet.

'Twas *Belinda* ravish'd me,
From my tender parent's side,
This morning; e'er the genial ray
Had discover'd half my pride.
Thro' my thin foliage closely wove,
She softly breath'd the spicy gale:
Hers are the odours round you rove;
Hers the rich perfume I exhale.
Then o'er my system light she bent,
And with her living rubies press'd it;
The glowing gems their colour lent,
And in a double crimson dress'd it.
She plac'd me in her snowy neck,
Just where the panting orbs divide:
And what thou hidest, thou shalt deck
To day, dear pretty flow'r, she cry'd.
My white, thy blushes shall display;
My coldness animate thy fire:
There flourish, from rude fingers free,
Where thousands gladly wou'd expire.
I bow'd; she smil'd; now in a ring
Danc'd jocund; now in wanton mazes;
Till at last the fickle thing
Us'd me thus, to please some *daisies*.
Stranger, ask not of the fair,
How she's nam'd, or where she's seen;
She's the brightest nymph that e'er
Tript it o'er the velvet green.
Yet for the *daisy-love*, that's new,
She'll forsake the finest *rose*:
If destruction you pursue,
By the marks the fair disclose.

Upon a LADY, who had the Small-Pox.

BOAST not the tincture of a skin,
With which gallants make such a rout;
For fair *Maria's* charms went in,
As soon as the *small-pox* came out.
Virtues which lay conceal'd before
In life's smooth calm, did then break forth;
And tho' one universal sore,
The rugged di'mond shew'd its worth.
Her soul amidst the raging pest.
With patience, courage, bore the shock;
And piety worth all the rest,
Because 'tis founded on a rock.

Let *Delia* sigh for beauty lost,
More than when danger was most rife;
Knowing that when no more a toast,
She's insignificant in life.

Maria's claim to live and reign,
Depends not on so poor a thread;

Her humour, sense, and shape remain,
Tho' cast within a deeper shade.

So, tho' the sun's meridian blaze
May tempt the buzzing flies to play;
Yet we with safer pleasure gaze,
When clouds rebate the scorching ray.

The REMEDY. In Imitation of Calimire.

IF sighs, my friend, cou'd banish grief,
Or tears relieve the heart from pain,
I too wou'd pour a briny flood,
And of my adverse fate complain.

I'd diamond quarries give for tears,
And the rich miser's hidden store;
Nay, were both golden *Indies* mine,
I'd part with all their shining ore.

But as thick flow'rs in vernal meads
Luxuriant from soft dews arise,
So grief from grief incessant springs,
And sorrow loves dim watry eyes.

Then smile, my friend, erect your head,
Whatever weight your mind oppresses;
To stoop beneath it will encrease,
But never make your burden less.

For shou'd you to relentless fate
Vow ev'ry day a sacrifice,
In vain wou'd be your pompous woe,
Did you with tears exhaust your eyes.

The tyrant pow'r with stern contempt
Wou'd ruthless hear your piteous moan,
But from the dauntless look will run,
Tho' lord it o'er the humble groan.

How glad I see your op'ning face
Again bright honest thoughts display!
No clouds shou'd e'er prophane the mind,
Where virtue beams immortal day.

J. DINSDALE.

My PIPE and I.

THY worth, O tea, by tuneful nymphs be
sung,

For oft thy juice nectareous fires the tongue.
I sing the *pipe*; ye fair, forgive the lay,
Were you my subject, it wou'd still be clay.

Smooth as my theme might all my num-
bers flow,

Its bowl a spark for every line bestow,
None sure wou'd deem this short essay too long,
But such as hate my theme, approve my song.

When fix'd to read (in life my best employ)
My *pipe* takes fire, and glows to give me joy.
Nor glows in vain, I'm charm'd with every lay
In *Thomson's Liberty*, and *Pope's Essay*.

The deserts rise where *Parnell's Hermit* trod,
And, *Watts*, thy lyre translates me all to God.
Or if my thoughts an ode or hymn design,
My *pipe* informs me how to tag the line;
Shou'd *light* conclude (suppose my theme the
skies)

My *pipe* its colour for a rhyme supplies.

When

When *Collin* finds a leisure hour to spare,
We fix the place, and arm in arm repair:
Each takes his glass, and names the nymph
he loves.
And my dear *pipe* the social hour improves.
Each freely thinks, and what he thinks can
say,
And puffs, mean-while, the cares of life away.
Shou'd nymphs from hence refuse the offer'd
kiss,
Afraid my breath wou'd taint the balmy bliss,
I dare 'em all to take a kiss and try,
And let experience give their fears the lie.

On Sir RICHARD MANNINGHAM's *Infirm-
mary for Lying-in Women* in Jermyn-street,
St. James's; supported by the generous Sub-
scription of the Nobility and Gentry of both
Sexes, and the Right Reverend and Revere-
nd the Clergy.

W Hether to custom easy captives made,
Or sunk, by choice, in outsize and
parade;
We hat too oft mistake our way to fame,
And grasp a specious, for the real name.
—We say, *Britannia* shares a taste sublime;
The sound returns from ev'ry foreign clime:
Each law her own, or moral, or divine;
In private taught, and public life to shine:
Faithful to honour's, and to virtue's call.—
Strange, in one point, she shou'd belie 'em all!
To us, it's true, th' all-bounteous pow'r
has giv'n,
To lull our cares, and lift the soul to heav'n,
Beauties, who double each refin'd desire,
Or flame the lover's, or the husband's fire;
Patriots, who staunch in freedom's cause have
stood,
And chiefs, in fields of death, profuse of blood;
Sages, deep-read in each diviner art,
To model life, and meliorate the heart.—
But whence survive mankind the natal day?
Or meet they, rather, first, the genial ray?—
To heav'n alone our warmest vows are due,
Our fire, *accoucheur*, and physician too!
—Ah! say, how boasts *be*, the true father's
breast,
Who but begets, and leaves to chance the rest?
Why is *she* honour'd with a midwife's charge,
Who plans no rule, but blunders on at large?
And *these*, why call we great *Apollo's* sons,
Whom nature, in each light, indignant thuns?—
What might we fear, while courted to the
spoil,
Death stalks, unfetter'd, thro' a careless isle?
Reverse of honour! thus we proudly raise
Our own, our country's, and our Maker's
praise!
Heav'n saw, relenting, *Albion's* hapless state,
And bade her genius rouse, once more, the
great.

— Hither, ye guardians of the public good,
'Fam'd for religion, or descent of blood;
'Hear, of each sex, th' Almighty's ardent call:
'Virtue commands alike, and crowns us all! —
'Was it for this your God his form imprest,
'And pour'd himself into the human breast?
'Sinks then with man the species to contempt?
'And is not heav'n's most finish'd piece exempt?
'For him how breathes your love, your thirst
of fame, [name?—
'Who sport with death, and scorn a parent's
'There are, in either art, divinely fraught,
'By *Phæbus* self, and fair *Lucina* taught.
'Here let your sons on various nature wait,
'To mark the *beathful* from the *morbid* state;
'To scan your structure with no vulgar eyes;
'To trace distempers down thro' each disguise;
'To learn in med'cine, what three worlds *
produce,
'And sample drugs for salutary use. —
'So too for *these*, who tend the pregnant fair:
'First see 'em form'd for that important care!
'Hence in the *parts* a nobler skill exact;
'Of each the province; when *their time* to act.
'To ignorance here, how close destruction
stands! [hands?
'Who but would fly the touch of barb'rous
'A *studious* care be your criterion still;
'Since none but desp'rate fools out-run their
skill: —
'But where on science each their practice raise,
'The labour'd artists well deserve their praise.
'—Indulge the whole, as heav'n's benigner
smiles,
'And prove your ardour for the *British* isles!
Conscious they heard —
On *Manningham* their gen'ral hopes they place,
To second heav'n, and save the fav'rite race.
'—Than his, they cry, no abler hand we
find:
'Be then to him this double task assign'd.
'No more our men to foreign climes shall roam,
'In quest of knowledge, better learnt at home;
'Women no more of *their dear sex* complain,
'Pretending art, but practising in vain.
'From his bright institutes our youth shall
claim
'Each science, worthy the physician's name;
'From his *Infirm'ry* future midwives know,
'What to *themselves*, what to *their charge* they
owe. [clear,
'Transporting change! while from a head so
'A judgment turn'd to manage either sphere,
'We have to sooth each passion of the mind,
'Our *lives* to guard, and propagate our kind.
'Blest school, where wisdom's richest fruits shall
blow!
'Happy retreat for indigence and woe! —
'Thus, room for both, both parties shall agree;
'Each artist pleas'd his proper bounds to see:
'Nor *work too-ras'd* shall the wise matron hide,
'Nor men be dupes to ignorance and pride.
N —Add

— Add to the rest, that, in great nature's
cause,
‘ They rise proficient on mechanic laws;
‘ To justest precepts join the chafest art,
‘ While modest pride obtains in ev’ry part.
‘ View the machinery, rais’d with decent care,
‘ Whether the human bones * or crystal sphere †.
‘ Tyro’s, on that, th’ initial rites command,
‘ And form each birth obsequious to the hand.
‘ This pours on ev’ry rule the strongest light,
‘ And plants the practice obvious to the sight.
‘ — See, the Parisian, now resign’d to fear;
‘ His mighty apparatus vanquish’d here.
‘ On our own strength we rise; nor envy we
‘ His book, *Gregoire* ‡; his forceps, fam’d
Duffé ||.
‘ Those massy, murd’ring tools let Gallia own:
‘ The British master asks the hand alone.
‘ — Then, for our better half, the pious fair;
‘ Say, what more claims your tutelary care? §
‘ While modesty receives no rude alarm,
‘ And the chaste woman boasts her ev’ry
charm!’

Heav’n rung applause, and bade full radi-
ance glow
Around her sons and substitutes below!
Hail, ye discerning, and illustrious few,
Who chose the sage, or gen’rous model drew!
Hail, either sex, that, great or beauteous, know
To foster arts, or soften keenest woe!
Nor now your cares alone our poor engage,
But ev’ry rank in ev’ry future age.
Here your own hopes, you, with the rest,
command,
Each science barr’d each sacrilegious hand.
Hence the bright dame shall in the daughter
smile,
And heir from heir derive the patriot file.
O blissful scene, by virtue’s sacred road,
To copy heav’n, and emulate the God!
More joys from hence, more honours shall ye
share, [ye wear.
Than crowd the posts ye fill, or gild the stars
Thus stand’st thou too, great man, secure
of praise,
While noblest names diffuse their guardian rays.
Assert thy right; affect thy native skies;
Since, here, thy herald, envy’s self shall rise!

Soutbwork, SAYER RUDD, M. D.
Jan. 15, 1741. And MAN-MIDWIFE.

ON TRUE HAPPINESS.

LONG have I sought, the wish of all,
True happiness to find,
Which some will wealth, some pleasure call,
And some a virtuous mind.

Sufficient wealth to keep away
Of want the doleful scene,
And joy enough to gild the day,
And make life’s course serene.
Virtue enough to ask the heart,
Art thou secure within?
Hast thou perform’d an honest part?
Hast thou no private sin?
This to perform, these things possess,
Must raise a noble joy,
Must constitute that happiness,
Which nothing can destroy.

*Carmina in Natalitiis Christi Regimenfibus repe-
tenda, dum antiquo ritu apri caput fertis in-
signibusque ornatum solemniter ad mensas depor-
tatur.*

By one of Queen’s-College in Oxford.

O QUI Philippæ nobilis ædibus
Præsis, acerbæ mitte scientiæ
Curam, verecundumq; Bacchum
Consiliis adhibe severis.
O Vos, sacratæ sub penetralibus
Formare mollem quos juvat indolem,
Mentesq; maturè tenellas
Ingenuo recreare cultu;
Tardi laborem jam studii gravem,
Duræq; tandem ponite Palladis
Artes molestas, tetricæq;
Triste supercilium Camænæ.
Quid machinamur grandia futes?
Cur fastuosis consiliis tumet
Pectus? quid urgemus minutum
Propositis animum superbis?
Rugosa morbum canities ferens
Festiva pigris gaudia mentibus
Torquebit; & sævi caducos
Vis rapiet truculenta lethi.
Jam jam remisso carmine tibi,
Læti juventâ, rite vocabimus,
Regemq; facundis Jehovah
Vocibus, & citharâ canemus.
Plenis Lyæi munera poculis
Benigna fument: ecce ferunt apri
Pulchrè coronatum marino
Rore caput, viridiq; lauro,
Signisq; splendens. Aula procæmum
Non ulla cœnz jactat opimius,
Non, mole quæ terrent stupendâ,
Munifici monumenta regia.
Non lautiori splendida principis
Nostri refulgent atria ferculo,
Non tellus æquali superbit
Angla, dapum generosa nutrix.

S O N G.

* The great Machine, an excellent Preparative for giving the first Instructions in the Practice of Midwifery. † The Glass Matrix, very beautifully illustrating the Reason of the Rules Both contrived to exhibit the Art with the greatest Clearness and Decency. ‡ A late Man-Midwife at Paris, fond of using the Crotchets. || Another of that City, who valued himself as the Improver of the Forceps. § This Charity regarding in a peculiar Manner the Fair Sex, the Ladies properly become the chief Guardians.

S O N G.

TUNE. *Black-ey'd Susan.*

THE sun now lengthen'd ev'ry shade,
When *Strepson* to fair *Cælia* came;
Much, much he lov'd the beauteous maid,
And she too felt an equal flame:
But fate, alas! the nuptial bliss deny'd;
He kiss'd her cheek, and thus with passion
cry'd.

How easy do the numbers move,
That sing of thee, supremely fair!
Thou hast tun'd all my soul to love,
And breath'd uncommon rapture there.
Oh let me on thy breast my head recline,
There sigh and wish the lovely *Cælia* mine.
Gay blooming as the summer's rose,
Fresh as the morn at early dawn,
Soft as the softest down that grows
Beneath the pinion of the swan.
Oh let me on thy breast my head recline,
There sigh and wish the charming *Cælia* mine.
Mild as the show'rs that glad the spring,
Pure as the dove without a fault,
Sprightly as linnets when they sing,
All innocent as angels thought.
Oh let me on thy breast my head recline,
There sigh and wish the heav'nly *Cælia* mine.

S O N G.

TUNE. *Alexis flun'd his fellow Swains.*

DID Fanny ask me, too unkind,
What joy with her my heart could find?
Ah! am I then to thee unknown?
Or why with coy and cold disdain
Thus cruel! thus insult my pain!
Who die for you alone?

Time was, ah! now no longer mine!
When the gay friend, the joys of wine,
A shady grove, or rural scene,
Could tune my youthful soul to sing,
And all my hours with pleasure wing;
Heav'n's! what a change has been!

Since first I saw those eyes of thine,
Nor the gay friend, nor joys of wine,
Nor rural scene, nor shady grove
Can bid my melancholy cease,
Tune me to song, or sooth to peace;
For now, alas! I love.

I wander like the smitten fawn;
Thee absent, find of day no dawn,
'Tis night around me dark and deep.
Ah! nymph, this heart is full of thee—
Witness, alas! these eyes for me,
These eyes you teach to weep.

Oh come and bring thy joys along,
For thee, my love, I'll tune the song;
Thou bind thy poet's brows with green,

And smile while you my temples crown,
My mind grows darken'd at your frown,
And at your smile serene.

The LOVE-SICK MAID.

WHEN to the toilet of my fair I go,
Pale as the lily, cold as mountain snow,
Busy, a load of trifles to survey,
She flights whate'er I do, whate'er I say.
Tho' health withdrew her necessary aid,
When nature to perfection form'd the maid;
Yet when with circling arms I fondly press'd,
With all the energy of joy caress'd,
Crowded with little loves the graces came,
As eager to adorn so nice a frame. [warm,
So the chill'd flow'r, enliv'ning sun-beams
And call forth every sweet, and every charm.
Quick to their posts deserting *Cupids* fly,
Dance in her cheek, and wanton in her eye;
New beauties ever kindle new desire,
The more I do embrace, the more admire,
Till lost amidst the charms, myself inspire. }
Thus, as of old, *Pygmalion* survey'd
The well-turn'd features of his iv'ry maid,
To *Jove* first suppliant, for a second wife,
Then kiss'd and press'd and hugg'd it into life;
Sudden the veins swell with a purple tide,
And flush the lily cheek with rosy pride;
Her snowy arms around the *Cypriot* wove,
And the first passion which she felt was love;
He sinks o'er-power'd by the dear surprise,
And as the statue lives, the artist dies.

Wesfram, Kent.

G. L.

On CÆLIA. An EPIGRAM.

WHEN *Cælia* first rises she's thirty con-
fess'd, [dress'd:
But seems in the bloom of fifteen when she's
From the toilette when come, she coquets all
the day, [gay:
To be thought she's as pretty, and young as she's
By strangers she's thought so; to them is a toast:
But how false all the power, that *Cælia* can
boast! [put on,
Without patch, or paint—with her own face
In the morn she'd lose all—whom at night she
had won.

An Epistle from a Student of ***** College,
Oxford, to R. S. Esq; at his Lodgings near
St. James's.

FROM *Tame's* lov'd banks, which oft you
rov'd along,
Pensive to meditate the easy song,
From where the muses keep their blissful seat;
Where peace and science make their lov'd re-
treat,
Caught with ambition's lure away you fly,
And all St. James's glares before your eye!
But from that place you lov'd, I dare to send,
Tho' at a court, this letter to my friend:

N 2

Shew

Shew him that still he lives within my thought,
And still I keep my frankness as I ought;
Polite as e'er you will at *London* be,
My verse must, like my friendship, still be
free.

As genial spring the frozen glebe unbinds,
A genial warmth my heart elated finds,
And as the winter's gloomy fogs retire,
I feel, or think I feel, the poet's fire:
Hence what in prose I fancy'd to rehearse,
Falls into measure, and I write in verse.

But what is verse or poetry to you?
Who dream on statesmen, and have schemes
in view?

To whom each day the drawing-room reveals
*White stiffs, blue ribbands, golden keys, and
seals*:

To whom each day, soon as it rises, bears
Ten thousand hopes, and twice ten thousand
fears:

Who, tho' thy hope deceiv'd, must still look
And seem to-morrow what you seem'd to day,
Saunter at court, take snuff and see the —,
An idle gewgaw, and an useless thing.

You see, my friend, that I my thoughts
unfold;

My heart is honest, tho' my verse is bold.
Say, can you like this scene, this life approve,
And scorn the honest freedom that you love?
For well I know your temper such to be,
Like a true *Briton's*, form'd by nature *free*.
Debauch it not; nor in a courtly slave
Let custom marr the blessing nature gave.

Weigh well thy temper; then consider,
friend,

What d'reful ills thy present scheme attend;
What course you run the wish'd-for goal to
gain,

[vain:
Which when you've ran, perhaps have ran in
No more the son of *freedom*, servile now,
To those you hate a suppliant cringe bestow;
Obsequious fawn, and, traitor to your heart,
Play o'er the sycophant's beguiling art;
As int'rest sways you, censure or commend,
Approve a villain, or condemn a friend;
To all be all alike; great levees haunt,
And every day for vacant places pant:
Till still deceiv'd, tho' promis'd, still you find
Your patron never had you in his mind:
Your fortune spent, chagrin'd you leave the
court,

The pity of your friends, of foes the sport.
Then blaming *patron-ministers of state*,
You see your folly; but, ah! see too late.

But, oh! may better fate thy hopes at-
tend!

Nor thou, like others, cheated at the end!
But I wou'd rather, than such risque to
run,

And live a *polite slave* to be undone,
On *Tamui's* peaceful banks obscurely dwell,
Still the free tenant of a college cell;
The happiness of mind I seek for gain,
And dying say, I have not liv'd in vain.

The HYPERBOLE.

ONCE *Juno* ran down till almost out of
breath,

On purpose to visit the palace of *death*:
And when she had cool'd herself well with
her fan, [began.
('Tis the mode of the skies) thus the goddess
May it please your grim majesty, I queen of
heav'n

By the force of a weighty affair am driv'n
To seek your abode: 'tis my business to know
What date you appoint to one *Kirby* below.

For such is the havoc she makes among men,
For one that you kill, this virago wounds ten.
The fops that have eyes, and the gowns-men
declare it, [bear it?

That her shafts are invincible—Prince, can you
This truth is affirm'd by the poets—Yes!
pox on

That effeminate scholar of *Coll. Jesu Oxon*!
He teaches her fame (rot the rascal) to spread:
While *Thames* longs for beauties which *Isis* has
bred.

But this is not the case: whenever she dies,
May your majesty please to preserve me her eyes.
They are brighter than comets: and these
without fail

I propose to infix in my peacock's gay tail:
For *Argus's* eyes are unworthy the place,
Since a hundred of his are out-shone by a brace,

L. J.

An EPISTLE from a PARSON to his
FRIEND.

Dear Sir,

REGARDING neither blame nor praise,
Whether I merit birch or bays,
For once I will attempt in rhyme
To tell you how I spend my time.

In primis, then, in summer weather
The sun and I do rise together;
Then hurrying *William* out to plough,
I call to *Anne* to milk her cow;
Then take my cane, and walk at ease
To see what pigs are in my pease,
Where, if I spy the grunting snout,
I clap, and *Keeper* hunts them out;
Then mend the gap by driving stake fast,
And home again to take my breakfast.
Now all the time, till breakfast ends,
We talk o'er all our *Ongar* friends:

And thus perhaps my wife begins,
I can but think Sir *John* had twins:
How strange, says she, do things go on?
Some can have two, while some have none.
Now such discourse to me is grating,
So I turn off to other prating,
And talk of Sir *John Aff*'s marrying,
And lady *Mary's* late miscarrying,
Or any other foreign chat,
To rid her head and thoughts of that

The

Tho' whisp'ring now my thoughts to thee,
 I think it hard as well as she.
 But tell me, do your cheeks ne'er burn?
 For you are talk'd of in your turn;
 Nay ev'ry one, without a lye, fir,
 From good Sir *John* to poor *Will Spicer*.
 Now loit'ring thus as long as sitting,
 I to my book, and she to knitting;
 But by the way of talking this,
 We never part without a kiss;
 And ev'ry morning thus from *Monday*
 I'm thinking what to say on *Sunday*,
 And so sit musing all alone,
 Until our parish clock strikes one;
 When from the lowest stair I hear
 My wife call out—Come down, my dear,
 For dinner's ready—where I see
 A decent plain frugality.
 There's nothing wanting, nor profuse,
 A well-fed duck, or season'd goose,
 Or beans or pease, or barn-door hen,
 Or roasted pig, my due from ten;
 Nor in the season am without
 The silver eel or speckl'd trout:
 And tho' I almost keep from wine,
 As strict as *Jesús* abstain from swine,
 Yet does my sideboard never fail
 To furnish beer or well-brew'd ale;
 Nor a desert, when fruit is ripe:
 And after that I take my pipe.
 That done, why then I nod perhap,
 And lean my head to take a nap.
 Mean while some honest friend does come,
 And ask my maid, if I'm at home?
 If fifty pounds he rents a year,
 I beg him then to draw his chair,
 And looking in the empty jug,
 I call to fetch another mug.
 With him discoursing, I am told
 How at last fair the cattle sold,
 And many useful things I know,
 As when to plough, and when to sow,
 When to manure is proper time,
 And which is fittest dung or lime.
 So talk we till he leaves my house,
 Then thank him, and salute his spouse;
 And being of a well-bred nation,
 He says he'll use my commendation:
 'Tis well accepted by the dame,
 And she returns it with some cream.
 And now the sun extends the shade,
 We walk perhaps in neighb'ring mead,
 Close by whose verdant flow'ry side
 The silver waves in murmurs glide,
 Where sporting fish with sudden rise
 Catch at the too unwary flies,
 Or where some fisher with his flook
 Watches his float with careful look:
 Or else beneath a spreading oak
 I fill another pipe and smoke,
 And see my lambs their frolics play:
 And so your friend wastes out the day.
 Then home returning, pray'rs are said,
Will makes his bow, and all to bed.

But now, methinks, you take me up here,
 What all to bed without a supper?
 Why, faith, I own I wou'd conceal,
 What 'tis no credit to reveal;
 But yet, if that would give you ease,
 'Tis picking bones, or toasted cheese.
 And this concludes at present

From
 Your faithful bumble Servant,
 TOM.

EVANS had spoil'd the verse before,
 But now it makes a verse the more.

P. S.

You know there's no epistle ends
 Without saluting of our friends:
 My duty then attends my mother,
 My love to sister and to brother;
 And, not to make my letter longer,
 Salute all friends in *Chipping-Ongar*.

On some of our MODERNS.

AUTHORS have one sure comfort, since
 they find
 Readers, whom mother Nature has design'd
 For them; none write so low, but there are
 those

Judge as they write, either for verse or prose.
Madam and her gay damsel feed their fancies
 With merry songs, dull plays and long ro-
 mances.

Down in the kitchen, honest *Dick* and *Doll*,
 Are studying *Colonel Jack* and *Flanders Moll*.

ADVICE to PHILLIS.

Tempus edax rerum ———

PHILLIS, no more, no more, I say,
 Your boasted charms will soon decay:
 Old age, irrevocable doom!
 Will steal the beauties of thy bloom!
 Then, then those charms of thine are fled,
 The lovely *Phillis* gone and dead:
 The glass, which now reflects you fair,
 At the reflection how you'll stare!
 When, 'stead of past triumphant grace,
 You see a wither'd, hagg'd face:
 Young lovers taps you'll hear no more,
 Cautiously wanton at your door;
 No longer billet-doux convey'd
 By the dear postage of your maid;
 No longer serenades you'll hear,
 Progressive on the silent air;
 No more in thoughts you'll vainly boast
 Yourself the beauteous reigning toast;
 No longer will your charms inspire
 Each lover with a poet's fire;
 Forgot at masquerade, and ball,—
 Was ever such a general fall!
 But this, all this, nay more must be,
 'Tis nature's firm and just decree.
 Then clasp the moment while you may,
 Contempt and scorn attends decay.

T H E

THE Monthly Chronologer.



SINCE our last, we receiv'd the following farther Particulars relating to the Murder of Sir *John Dineley Goodyer*, Bart. viz. That the two Russians not being able to strangle Sir *John* with their Hands, which they had been half an Hour attempting, his Brother ran up into his Cabin, and cut a small Rope that tied his 'Scrutore, with which having made a Noose, he carried it to *Mabony*, one of the *Irishmen*, who put it about Sir *John's* Neck, and then soon dispatched him. A Silver Watch was taken from *Mabony* that was given to him by Capt. *Goodyer*, on the Dial-Plate whereof, instead of Figures, were these twelve Letters, *Death Dineley*. Sir *John* was the 5th Son, tho' eldest then living, of the brave Sir *Edward Goodyer*; and his Mother (descended from the old Earl of *Rutland*) was sole Heiress of Sir *Edward Dineley*, who gave him a large Estate to change his Name; tho' as Sir *John* was brought up at Sea in the *East-Indies*, he had not that Politeness which might be expected in a Gentleman of his Family and Fortune.

We were farther inform'd, That Sir *John* had cut off the Entail of his Estate (except 700*l.* per *Ann.* which he could not meddle with) from his Brother the Captain, and settled the same on his Sister's two Sons; which was suppos'd to be the principal Cause of this Murder: And that three Men were committed to *Newgate* in *Bristol*, for forcibly seizing the said Baronet, and carrying him on board the *Ruby* Man of War; who declar'd they were hired by his said Brother so to do. (See p. 49.)

His Majesty's Sloop the *Spy*, Capt. *Howes*, arriv'd at *Spithead*, Jan. 23. from *Jamaica*, which she left on Dec. 15. and brought Advice, that the Forces rais'd in *North America* were all arriv'd at *Jamaica*, and that Vice-Admiral *Vernon* with his Squadron was in *Port-Royal*. His Majesty's Ship the *Sea-horse*, Capt. *Lineburner*, had taken and brought into *Port-Royal* a Spanish Ship of 16 Guns, laden with Ordnance and Stores of Ammunition.

The Question was balloted for, by a General Court at the S. S. House, Whether the Half-yearly Dividend should be $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{3}{4}$ per Cent. on their Stock; and was carried for the latter, by a Majority of 41 out of 497.

The Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Viſc. *Torrington*, waited on her Royal Highness the Princess of *Wales* with the congratulatory

Address of the House of Lords, on her Royal Highness's safe Recovery: As did the Right Hon. the Lord Viſc. *Galway*, and several Members of the H. of Commons, with the Congratulations of that House.

Came on before Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, a Cause wherein the Cordwainers Company were Plaintiffs, and *George James*, a Shoe-maker, but not of the Company, was the Defendant, in an Action of Debt on the Statute of *James I.* for a Year's Quarterage, at 6*d.* per Quarter, when a Verdict was given for the Plaintiffs; whereby their ancient Right to collect this Duty of all Persons whatsoever, exercising their Trade within 3 Miles of *London*, is once more confirm'd.

On the 29th of last Month, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London* waited on their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Wales*; when Sir *John Strange*, Knight, their Recorder, made their Compliments as follows.

To the Prince of *Wales*.

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of *London*, most humbly present themselves before you, to congratulate your Royal Highness upon the safe Delivery of your illustrious Consort, and the Birth of another Princess: They consider every Addition to his Majesty's Family, as an Increase of their own Happiness, and as a further Security that the Scepter shall not depart from his Royal House; an Event we are all so highly concerned to guard against.

It is with infinite Pleasure the Nation beholds your Royal Highness possessed of a most amiable Princess, mutually happy in each other, and both exhibiting that beautiful Example of conjugal and parental Affection, for which your Royal Highnesses are most justly admired: The happy Influence this has, and must continue to have, naturally excites our Gratitude, and, joined to numberless other high Qualifications, leaves no Room to doubt, but that your Royal Highnesses were particularly design'd by Providence, to continue to us the many Blessings of his Majesty's Reign.

No Part of the City of *London* can at any Time approach your Royal Highness without acknowledging the great Honour they receive, by your condescending to continue a Member of their Body, and shewing your kind Regard to them upon all Occasions: The best Return they can make is to assure your Royal Highness, with the utmost Sincerity, that nothing shall exceed the Fervency of their

Wishes

Wishes for your Welfare and Prosperity, nor their steady Adherence to the Interest of his Majesty, and every Branch of his illustrious House.

To the Princess of Wales.

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London, most humbly address themselves to your Royal Highness, with their sincere Congratulations upon your safe Delivery of another Princess, and the Re-establishment of your Health. These they contemplate as national Blessings, in which Light also they have never fail'd to consider his Royal Highness's Marriage into your illustrious House; a Marriage which then promised, and hath since given the highest Pleasure and Satisfaction to his Majesty's Subjects, and will be always remembered by them with the utmost Gratitude.

Your known Tenderness, Affection and Care for the Royal Comfort you are blessed with, and for those inestimable Pledges of our future Security, which the Goodness of God to us has already bestowed upon you, will for ever excite our most dutiful Acknowledgments, and our earnest Prayers for an Increase of these and all other Blessings to your Royal Highness, and that you may long live in Health and Prosperity, to see the happy Effects of your Influence and Example.

To which the Prince made this Answer.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks, and those of the Princess, for this new Instance of your Duty to the King, and Regard to us. My Children will, I hope, deserve one Day that Love you now express for them, and it shall be my constant Care to instil such Sentiments into them, as are agreeable to the Liberties and Interests of their Country. The City may depend upon it, that I shall never forget the repeated Marks I have had of their Affection, and that they shall always have my good Wishes for their Welfare, and for the Increase of their Trade, and Prosperity.

After which they all had the Honour to kiss their Royal Highnesses Hands.

The Wardens and Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Sadlers, soon after waited on their Royal Highnesses on the same Occasion, when their Clerk address'd their R. Highnesses as follows:

THE Company of Sadlers (honour'd with your Royal Highnesses Permission to congratulate you on the happy Increase of your Family) most humbly approach your Royal Highnesses, to testify their Joy at the long Continuance of your Royal Race, to bless Posterity with the Government of this Nation. As the great Honour conferr'd by your Royal Highness on this Company will be had in everlasting Remembrance, so they

sincerely wish that the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms may never depart from your Royal House till Time shall be no more.

His Royal Highness's Answer was to the following Effect:

Gentlemen,

I return you my Thanks, and those of the Princess, for this fresh Instance of your Kindness; and the Company may be fully persuaded they shall always have my good Wishes.

They all had the Honour to kiss their Royal Highnesses Hands, and were afterwards regal'd with Wine, &c.

Where the Royal Family is appointed to be pray'd for, his Majesty in Council has been pleas'd to enjoin the following Form and Order to be observed, viz.

' Their Royal Highnesses Frederick Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, the Duke, the Princesses, the Issue of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the Royal Family.'

The Monument to the Memory of *Shakespeare* in *Westminster-Abbey*, near the South-East Door, was finish'd about this Time. The Poet is sculptur'd in the Dress of his Time, in white Marble: Above his Head is the following Inscription in Capital Letters raised in Gold.

GULIELMO SHAKESPEAR,
ANNO POST MORTEM CXXIV.
AMOR PUBLICUS POSUIT.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 4.

This being the Day appointed for a national Fast, on Account of the War, the same was observ'd with great Solemnity. The Bishop of *St. Asaph* preach'd before the King at *St. James's*; Dr. *Ayscough* before their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales at *Norfolk House*; the Bishop of *Chichester* before the House of Lords at *Westminster-Abbey*; and Dr. *Raiben Clarke* before the House of Commons at *St. Margaret's Church, Westminster*.

THURSDAY, 5.

A Loan was open'd at the *Exchequer* on the Land Tax, at 3 per Cent. which was fill'd in less than two Hours, and several Thousands refus'd.

The same Day, was a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Borough of *Southwark*, in order to nominate Candidates for the general Election, when Mr. *Thrale*, Mr. *Inwen* and Mr. *Chitty* were declared Candidates; and being severally put up by the Chairman, there appear'd a great Majority for the two former.

TUESDAY, 10.

At the Court of Common-Council a Motion was made, that a Petition from the City of London be presented to the House of Commons, for some effectual Laws to prevent the pernicious and destructive Practice of running Wool to foreign Parts; which Motion was unanimously agreed to, and a Committee (con-

(consisting entirely of Merchants) was appointed to prepare the said Petition.

THURSDAY, 12.

On this Day the said Petition was laid before the Court of Common-Council, and approved; and in the Afternoon the two Sheriffs attended the Hon. House of Commons with the same.

SUNDAY, 15.

Arriv'd at *Dover*, the *Princess Augusta* of *Bristol*, of 14 Guns and 25 Men, Capt. *Gwynn*, from *Barbadoes*, who on the 8th Inst. had an Engagement with a *Spanish Privateer* of 24 Guns: Of which we had the following Account. On Sunday, Feb. 8. *Scilly* bearing East about 50 Leagues, at Noon we saw a Sall on our Lee Bow, that upon Sight of us tack'd and stood athwart of us; on which we got all Things ready to engage. At 1 o'Clock we found we could not get clear of her, so hawl'd up our Courses, furl'd the small Sails, shew'd Colours and fir'd a Gun. She then hoisted *English* Colours, still kept athwart us, and never lower'd a Sail. We still kept our Wind, and she appearing to us like an *English* Brigantine, were unwilling to fire into her, till we were certain of her Intention. In the mean Time we kept her under our Lee, that if we found her an Enemy, we might hinder her from boarding. On her approaching nearer we perceiv'd their small Arms on Deck, but she kept her great Guns hous'd. We then fir'd a Broadside into her, which she return'd with her small Arms; and the first Sight that presented itself to us afterwards, was her blowing up and sinking; upon this, with the utmost Expedition, we hoisted out our Yawl, but could save only five of the People, one of whom was the second Lieutenant; the rest, who were upwards of 70, were all drown'd; among whom were 4 of our Countrymen belonging to a Brigantine bound from *Carolina* to *Plymouth*, which they had taken the Day before. Capt. *Gwynn* receiv'd some Damage in his Sails and Rigging, but had none of his Men hurt.

FRIDAY, 20.

This Day arriv'd Letters from Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, dated at *Dominica*, Dec. 24, which gave an Account: That on the 19th Sir *Chaloner* anchored with the Fleet in that Bay, where he was join'd by his Majesty's Ships the *Rippon* and *York*; which (with the *Cumberland*, *Prince of Orange*, *Superb*, *Buckingham*, *Montagu*, and the *Princess Royal* Hospital Ship) had been separated from him about 66 Leagues from the *Lizard* on the 1st of Nov. last: And that he had received Advice, from the Commander of one of the Store Ships put into *Antigua*, that he parted with the *Montagu* and several Transports on Dec. 8; and as the Transports, in Case of Separation, were ordered to rendezvous at St. *Christopher's*, Sir *Chaloner* hoped they would all be safely ar-

rived there. Sir *Chaloner Ogle* propos'd to proceed on the 25th with the whole Fleet to *Jamaica*. The same Letters brought an Account of the Death of the Right Hon. *Charles Lord Catbcart*, General and Commander in chief of his Majesty's Forces in the *West-Indies*, which was occasioned by a bloody Flux: He was taken ill on the 8th of Dec. and died on the 20th, the Day after the Fleet came to an Anchor at *Dominica*. He bore his Illness, which was very painful, with the greatest Patience and Resignation; and only seem'd to regret that he was deprived of an Opportunity of exerting his Zeal for the Service of his King and Country. His Loss is greatly lamented by the Officers and Soldiers under his Command. Upon his Lordship's Death, the Command of his Majesty's Forces devolved upon Brigadier General *Wentworth*, which he has taken upon him accordingly.

MONDAY, 23.

The House of Lords gave a final Judgment in the great Cause (ten Years depending) between *John Dormer*, Esq; Plaintiff, and Judge *Fortescue Aland*, Defendant, in favour of the former. (See LOND. MAG. 1740. p. 558.)

Letters from *Madrid* say, that a List is printed there, of all the *English* Vessels taken by the *Spaniards* since the Commencement of the present War, whereby it appears that we have lost 407, whose Cargoes they value at 3,850,300 Piafters.

According to last Year's Bill for the City of *Paris*, there were 18632 Christenings, 4017 Marriages, 25284 Burials, and 3150 Foundlings; so that 6652 dy'd that Year more than were baptiz'd. In 1739 there were 19781 Christenings, 4108 Marriages, 21986 Burials, and 3289 Foundlings: So that there was a Decrease last Year of 1149 in the Christenings, of 91 in the Marriages, and of 139 in the Foundlings; and an Increase of 3298 in the Burials.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

RICHARD Cambridge, of *Whitminster* in *Gloucestershire*, Esq; to Miss *Trenchard*, second Daughter of *George Trenchard*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Pool* in *Dorsetshire*.—Rev. Mr. *Speed*, one of the Masters of *Winchester* College, to the Widow of *Edward Standen*, Esq; late of *Arborfield* in *Berkshire*.—*Thomas Parker*, Esq; to Miss *Terry* of *Bondstreet*, a 7000*l.* Fortune.—The Hon. and nobly-born *Matheus P. Essovenon*, Lord of *Berkenrood*, in the Province of *Holland*, (whose Father is reckon'd worth about 300,000*l.*) to the Hon. Miss *Catbarine Windsor*, Sister to the Right Hon. the Lord *Montjoy*.—Mr. *Paul Knapton*, an eminent Bookseller in *Ludgate street*, to Miss *Elizabeth Chakwell* of *Coleman street*, a 5000*l.* Fortune.—Mr. *Richard Frewen*, Deputy King's Waiter in the Port of *London*, to Miss

Miss *Frances Bullen* of *Enfield*.—Col. *Corbet*, of the first Reg. of Guards, and Brother to Sir *Rich. Corbet*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Shrewsbury*, to a Daughter of *Will. Kynaston*, Esq; the other Memb. for that Borough, and one of the Masters in Chancery.—*John Barnard*, Esq; Page to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, and Son of Sir *John Barnard*, to Miss *Smith* of *Beaufort-Buildings*.—On Feb. 10. the Lady of *John Tayler* of *East-Sheen*, Esq; was brought to bed of a Son.

DEATHS.

MAJOR General *Compton*, Lieut. Governor of the *Tower*, aged upwards of 80. He was Son of Sir *Charles Compton*, Knt. (who died in 1661) second Son of *Spencer* Earl of *Northampton*, who so greatly signaliz'd himself in behalf of *K. Charles I.*—*James Fairbone*, Esq; only Son of Sir *Stafford Fairbone*.—Capt. *John Bellamy*, formerly Deputy Governor of *Virginia*.—*Tho. Fitch*, Esq; at *Higball* in the County of *Dorset*.—At his Seat near *Taunton*, *Nathaniel Webb*, Esq; Collector of the Customs at *Montserrat*, in which Island he had a very plentiful Estate. His Death was occasion'd by a Fall from a Scaffold erected by the Workmen who were at work on some of his Out-houses, by which he fractur'd his Skull and broke one of his Thighs. He is succeeded in his Estate by his eldest Son, *Robert Webb*, Esq; of the *Temple*.—The Lady of Sir *Tho. Frankland*, Bart. one of the Lords of the Admiralty.—*Sigismund Boehm Trafford*, Esq; possess'd of near 5000*l.* per Annum.—Rev. Mr. *Heatb*, at *Lingwood* near *Norwich*.—*Thomas Moor*, Esq; one of the Land-Surveyors of the Customs.—*Charles Stewart*, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the *White*, and Memb. of Parl. for *Portsmouth*. He was Brother to the late Lord *Vise. Mountjoy* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Uncle and Guardian to the present Lord. In 1697, he was in an Engagement with the *French* off *Dover*, having *K. William's* Letter, in which Action his Right-hand was shot off, and as he was carrying down to the Surgeon, another Ball almost scalp'd his head; he was then 16 Years of Age.—Mrs. *Conyers*, Wife of *Edward Conyers*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *East-Grinstead*, and Sister to the Earl of *Pomfret*.—*William Huddleston*, Esq; possess'd of Plantations in *Jamaica* to the Value of about 20,000*l.* He was Grandson of Sir *William Huddleston*, Knt. who at his own Charge rais'd a Regiment of Soldiers for the Service of *K. Charles I.* and Brother to the Rev. Dr. *Huddleston*, Archdeacon of *Bath* and *Wells*.—At *Paris*, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Radnor*, who dying unmarried, the Title and Estate descend to the Hon. *John Roberts*, Esq; of *Twickenham*.—*William Cosham*, Esq; formerly Surveyor General of his Majesty's Honors, Castles, &c.—Justice Chamberlain, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace

for the County of *Middlesex* and City of *Westminster*.—The Relict of *Edmund Halsey*, Esq; Mother to the Lord *Cobham's* Lady.—Hon. *Richard Cornwallis*, Esq; Equerry to the Duke of *Cumberland*, and Brother to the Lord *Cornwallis*.—*Anne* Lady Dowager *Colepeper*.—Mr. *John Smallwood*, an eminent Hosier on *Fish-street Hill*.—Mrs. *Fish*, aged 104, Mother to Mrs. *Shepherd*, House-keeper at the Treasury at *Whitehall*.—The Lady of the Hon. *Tho. Paget*, Groom of the Bed-chamber to the King, and Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces.—Mrs. *Codrington*, Wife of *John Codrington*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Bath*.—Lady *Mamwaring*, Relict of the late Sir ——— *Mamwaring*, Bart.—Mr. *William Plimpton*, an eminent Undertaker in *Redcross-street*.—Capt. *William Brabazon*, in *Ireland*, in the 88th Year of his Age. He was the last surviving Nominee in the Act of Settlement.—*William Stacey*, Esq; first Assistant to the Master Shipwright of his Majesty's Yard at *Deptford*.—*Rob. White*, Esq; Coroner for the City and Liberty of *Westminster*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

RICHARD *Batchelor*, M. A. presented to the Rectory of *Thorway* in the County and Diocese of *Lincoln*.—Mr. *Robert Roberts*, to the Vicarage of *Figbelden* in *Wiltshire*.—Mr. *Chappel*, to the Rectory of *Thorpe juxta Newark*, in the County of *York*.—Mr. *Bickerton*, to the Rectory of *Enoburst* in *Surrey*.—Mr. *Metcalf*, to the Vicarage of *Alkeborough*, in the County of *Lincoln*.—Mr. *Brickett*, Senior Fellow of *St. Peter's College*, *Cambridge*, to the Rectory of *Thurcaston* in *Leicestershire*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

Counsellor *Idle*, of *Lincoln's Inn*, Secretary of the Presentations under the Lord Chancellor, appointed Deputy-Teller of the Exchequer to the Hon. *Philip Yorke*, Esq; in the room of *John Lawton*, Esq; deceas'd.—Mr. *Joseph Wells* appointed Painter in Miniature to his Majesty, in the room of Mr. *Bernard Lens*, deceas'd, a Place of 200*l.* per Annum.—*Richard Lord Onslow* made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Surrey*.—*Gilbert Fountain*, Esq; made Clerk of the Crown and Peace, and chief Clerk of the supreme Court of *Jamaica*, in the room of *John Lawton*, Esq; deceas'd.—His Majesty appointed the following Sheriffs, viz. For *Bedfordshire*, *John White*, Esq;—*Essex*, *John Hannott*, Esq;—*Somerset*, *William Maddox*, Esq;—*Suffolk*, *Samuel Lucas*, Esq;—*Carmarthen*, *William Kees*, Esq;—*Cardigan*, *Daniel Bowen*, Esq;—*Pembroke*, *Matthew Bowen*, Esq;—*John Fortescue*, Esq; appointed, by his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, Sheriff of the County of *Cornwall*.—Capt. Lieut. *Leicester* made

made Colonel of a Company in the third Regiment of Foot Guards, in the room of Major Legg, deceas'd.—Capt. *Fraizer*, Colonel of a Company in the said Reg. in the room of Col. *Mordaunt*, promoted.—Lord *Maul*, Brother to the Earl of *Panmure*, a Peer of Scotland, Colonel of a Company in the said Reg. in the room of Col. *Dejean*, promoted.—Capt. *Lovell*, Captain-Lieutenant, in the room of Capt. *Leicester*.—Ensign *Wells*, Captain, in the room of Capt. *Lovell*.—Major *Savage*, made Lieutenant Colonel of the Reg. of Foot on the *Irish* Establishment, commanded by Col. *Dalway*.—Capt. Lieut. *Corbet*, Colonel of a Company in the second Reg. of Foot Guards.—Capt. *Kellet*, Colonel of a Company in the said Reg. in the room of Col. *Hannore*, promoted.—Robert *Hemmington*, Esq; Colonel of a Company in the first Reg. of Foot Guards, in the room of Col. *Price*, promoted to the Command of a Reg. of Foot.—John *Morley*, Esq; appointed Keeper of the Records in *Westminster-Abbey*, in the room of John *Lawton*, Esq; deceas'd.—Thomas *Stanton*, Esq; appointed his Majesty's Solicitor in England, in all Cases and Affairs where his Majesty's *Irish* Revenues are in any wise concerned.—Charles *Chandler*, Esq; appointed one of the Equeries to his Majesty.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS, since those mention'd in December last.

JOSEPH *Masabod*, of London, Merchant.—Platt *Cranwell*, of Pall-mall, Vintner.—Rich. *Tootel*, late of *Chorley* in *Lancashire*, Mercer and Draper.—Matthias *Ring*, of St. *Bride's*, London, Victualler.—Rob. *Brown*, late of *Wood-street*, Merchant.—Peter *Murag*, of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, Victualler.—Solomon *Riatti*, of *Gun-yard*, *Houndsditch*, Druggist.—Edward *Harris*, of *Wood-street*, Vintner.—Joseph *Scatheran*, of St. *John Wapping*, Merchant and Mariner.—John *Preston Chapman*, of *West-Smithfield*, Woollen-draper.—Susannah *New*, of *Bristol*, Spinster and Merchant.—Henry *Wood*, late of *Finsbury*, *Middlesex*, Coach and Coach-Harness-maker.—John *Edes*, of *Mount-street*, St. *George Hanover-square*, Carpenter and Builder.—Ferdinando *Comerford*, of *Mill Bank*, *Westminster*, Baker and Meal-Factor.—Thomas *Arch*, of *Stamford Baron*, *Northamptonshire*, Draper.—Francis *Nelme*, of *Amen Corner*, Silversmith.—Joseph *Oake*, late of *Sydenham*, *Kent*, Innholder.—Grace *Saundy*, Widow, and Daniel *Saundy*, both of *Reading*, Grocers and Dealers in Hops.—Thomas *Coke* the younger, of *Sberringham*, *Norfolk*, Mercer and Grocer.—Henry *Bowler*, of *Chiddingfold*, *Surrey*, Mercer.—John *Cripps* the elder, of the Parish of *Notbury*, *Suffex*, Timber-Merchant.—Benjamin *Osman*, late of *Worcester*, Confectioner.—Thomas *Hills*, of *Colchester*, *Essex*, Bay-maker.—Richard *Lambert*, of *Toames-street*, Grocer.—John *Beranger de For-*

mantell, of St. *Anne*, *Westminster*, Mercer.—Isaac *Jemmet*, of the *Park*, *Southwark*, Weaver.—John *Hatt*, of *Knightsbridge*, *Alman*.—John *Webb*, of *Northampton*, Currier.—Hugh *Pollet*, of *Tbaxted*, *Essex*, Shopkeeper.—Arthur *Ball*, of St. *Saviour*, *Southwark*, Richard *Foxall*, of St. *Olave*, *Southwark*, and Seymour *Stocker*, of St. *Anne*, *Lime house*, Dealers in Coals, and Co-partners.—Mary *Alder* and Jeremiah *Alder*, of *Burley*, in *Gloucestershire*, Carriers.—Patrick *Straban* and James *Straban*, of the Parish of St. *Bride*, London, Cabinet-makers.—William *Grafing*, of *Holborn*, Vintner.—John *Glover*, of *Cheapside*, Linen-draper.—William *Townsend*, late of *Newtown*, in the Parish of *Hungerford*, *Berks*, Brewer.—James *Bishop*, of St. *Saviour's*, *Southwark*, Brewer.—Edmund *Wilkins*, of St. *Clement Danes*, *Middlesex*, Woollen-draper.—Solomon *Cohen*, of *Woolpack-Alley* in *Houndsditch*, Merchant.—William *Weaver*, of *Bristol*, Tanner and Vintner.—George *Ring*, of *Aldgate street*, Mercer.—Edward *Bradford*, of St. *Martin's Le Grand*, Victualler.—Peter *le Count*, late of *Spittlefields*, Weaver.—Thomas *Ballantyn*, of *Exon*, Grocer.—James *Bradley* and Edward *Griffin*, of *Fenchurch-street*, Merchants.—Thomas *Arnold*, of St. *Dunstan's in the West*, Grocer.—Joseph *Wrigglesworth*, of *Holborn*, Innholder and Dealer in Wines.—James *Hoghton*, of Little St. *Martin's-Lane*, Victualler.—Joseph *Hawbridge* of *Rye* in *Suffex*, Shopkeeper.—Thomas *Taylor*, of *Reading* in *Berks*, Mealman and Dealer in Tea.—Robert *Rust*, late of *North Elmham* in *Norfolk*, Tanner.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Jan. 27. to Feb. 24.

Christned	{	Males	604	}	1175
		Females	571		
Buried	{	Males	959	}	2054
		Females	1095		
Died under 2 Years old					722
Between	2	and	5		153
	5		10		73
	10		20		67
	20		30		183
	30		40		192
	40		50		219
	50		60		163
	60		70		116
	70		80		99
	80		90		53
	90	and upwards			14

2054

Hay 63 to 66s. a Load.

2

AS

AS the War in *Silesia* is now the chief Subject of Conversation in *Europe*, we shall begin with a brief Account of what has happened relating thereto since our last, in which we left the *Prussian* Army upon the River *Neiss*. On the 7th of *January*, O. S. his *Prussian* Majesty summoned the Town of *Neiss* to surrender, but instead of complying, the Garrison fired upon the Colonel and Trumpeter, who were sent upon the Message; whereupon the *Prussians* began to bombard the Place, which they continued for three Days; but there being so much Snow, and the Weather so extremely cold, that the Soldiers could not live in Trenches, they could not form the Siege of the Place; therefore, after the Bombardment they retired, and the King of *Prussia*, with his Brother Prince *William*, set out for *Berlin*, where they arrived the 18th of the same Month, leaving the Command of the Army in *Silesia* to the Velt-Marshal Count *Schwerin*, who, upon hearing that Lieutenant General *Brown*, with the small Body of *Austrian* Troops under his Command, had retired towards *Jagendorff*, continued his March in Pursuit of the *Austrians*; and the latter having left *Jagendorff* and taken Post at *Grazz* upon the River *Mora*, the Velt-Marshal attack'd them upon the 14th, and after some small Resistance passed that River, whereupon the Enemy retired into *Moravia*. The *Prussians* having thus made themselves Masters of *Silesia*, as far as the Frontiers of *Moravia*, except *Great Glogaw*, *Neiss*, and a few other Places, which cannot be besieged in the Winter Time, they turned toward the southernmost Part of *Silesia*, bordering upon *Hungary*; and our last Accounts from thence were, that Major General *de la Motte*, with a Detachment from the *Prussian* Army, had made himself Master of *Jabluncka* upon the River *Else* near the *Carpathian* Mountains, after having granted the Garrison an honourable Capitulation. As this Place is the Key of *Silesia* towards *Hungary*, the *Prussians* may now be said to be Masters of the whole Province, where they have already an Army of 28550 Men, and those ordered to be in Readiness to march thither amount to 5650, in all 34200 Men.

As the King of *Prussia* carries on War and declares Friendship, the King of *Spain* has declared Enmity without as yet having begun to carry on War, against the House of *Austria*; for a Memorial has been published in *Spain*, setting forth the Pretensions of that Crown to all the Dominions possessed by the late Emperor; and Don *Carpentero*, Secretary of the *Spanish* Ambassy at *Vienna*, not only left that Court upon the 9th of last Month, but upon the Day before his Departure went to Count *Sintzendorff*, and delivered him a Protest, setting forth in Substance, That his

Catholick Majesty having a good Claim to the Succession of the late Emperor, and being resolved to maintain the same, he solemnly protested against every Thing that might be done contrary thereto. His Catholick Majesty having thus in a Manner declared War, he is preparing to carry it on; and, for this Purpose, an Army is assembling in *Catalonia*, and a Fleet is preparing to transport it to *Italy*, where it is to be joined by a large Body of Troops from *Naples*; but how this *Spanish* Fleet is to sail to *Italy* without the Leave of *Great Britain*, remains as yet a Secret. However, as this new War his Catholick Majesty is, it seems, resolved to engage in, will put him to a great Expence, he has, in Imitation of *France*, laid a Tax of the Tenth Penny, on all the Estates of his Subjects, not excepting the Revenues of the Clergy; which Tax took Place last New-year's Day, and according to Computation, will bring in twelve Millions of *Piasters*, near three Millions *Sterling*, per Annum.

As a War is thus threatened to be begun in *Italy*, the Queen of *Hungary's* Minister at *Rome*, by her Orders, demanded a Passage thro' the Ecclesiastical Territories, for 5000 of her Troops to march from the *Milanese* to *Tuscany*, which was agreed to, and the Troops have accordingly marched that Way; but, as this may give a Handle to the *Spaniards* to demand the same Thing with regard to their Troops that are to march from *Naples*, it would have been better for the Queen of *Hungary* to have met with a Refusal; because her Troops, by going but a little Way about, might have marched thro' the *Moldenese*.

In the distracted State which *Germany* is like to be in, *Sweden* seems to think herself not quite unconcerned. The *Swedish* Troops in *Pomerania* are ordered to be augmented, and they talk of forming an Army there of 25000 Men; but what Side they will take, is not as yet so much as hinted at. It is, indeed, reported at *Vienna*, that *Sweden* and *Russia* have entered into an Alliance, by which *Sweden* is to yield the Provinces of *Ingria* and *Livonia* for ever to *Russia*, and the latter is upon that Condition to assist the former with 45,000 Men, for the Recovery of *Swedish Pomerania* from *Prussia*; but the Place from whence this Report comes, makes it suspected; especially as *Russia* has but lately renewed its defensive Alliance with *Prussia*, and has as yet interfered, only by way of Admonition, in the Dispute between the King of *Prussia* and the House of *Austria*; and as the Diet of *Sweden*, which is now sitting, seems inclined rather to confirm than alter the Scheme of Politics laid down by the last.

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